

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 2

Usury in History

J. E. Cantwell

Failure in Mexico

J. S. Brusher

Outlines of Revolution

E. H. Korth

Medieval Universities Part II

W. J. McGucken

Editorials

Win the War

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*Book
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VOL. XXI

JANUARY, 1943

No. 2

Table of Contents

CHURCH DOCUMENTS ON USURY	JOHN E. CANTWELL	27
MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES, II	WILLIAM J. MCGUCKEN	29
EDITORIALS		31
FAILURES OF MEXICO	JOSEPH S. BRUSHER	33
OUTLINES OF REVOLUTION	EUGENE H. KORTH	34
BOOK REVIEWS		45

THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN is indexed in the Catholic Magazine Index of *The Catholic Bookman* and *The Catholic Periodical Index*

Church Documents on Usury

John E. Cantwell, S.J., M.A.

St. Louis University

THE documents which are here made available through the scholarly industry of Father Cantwell are of prime importance and a most appropriate project for THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN. They are of significance for three distinct reasons.

First of all they are sound history. Usury analysis was practical economics for a round thousand years, and we have here first hand records of the ecclesiastical sources of that doctrine. Medieval men were conscious of such pronouncements in just the same way as modern men are aware of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act or of the Supreme Court decision nullifying the NRA. These definitions and decisions were basic considerations in the work-a-day life of all Christian Europe. Even he who violated them was aware that he was acting against the law and had to cover his tracks accordingly. To have available the very words which thus strongly touched the lives of so many for so long is a substantial aid to the study of history.

Secondly the documents are important because they furnish the necessary basic data for a case study in the history of history. There is probably no other medieval idea which has been handled by non-Catholic writers with greater assurance and less insight than has the idea of usury. The statement is commonly found that the wholesale prohibition was designed to protect consumers in an age when production loans were few, and that when the latter became more common the notorious subterfuges of extrinsic titles were furtively introduced. This is borne out neither by the teaching of the Church nor by the economic facts. Interest on maritime risk (*foenus nauticum*) was common and approved from the earliest Christian times.

Nor are these errors the occasional lapses of writers without influence. Alfred Marshall of Cambridge was perhaps the most influential economic teacher of his generation and a man extremely cautious about committing himself to anything. But even he felt free to cut loose on the question of the 'Canonists' who avoided a "practical evil at the expense of fostering habits of confused and insincere thinking."¹ Continental scholars are less prone to such errors than the British, but in the matter of usury there seems to be no difference. Gustav Cassel of Sweden is temperamentally a less cautious person than Marshall, and his remarks on this subject show it. "The Canonists defended their case by two methods which have always proved fatal to the development of strong and clear reasoning, viz., by *Sophistry*, the worst degeneration of human thought and by *Appeal to Authority*, the suppression of thought. . . . At the same time, the general movement towards freedom of thought began to replace mere appeal to authority by real investigation and independent thinking. For the theory of interest, this signified that such quotations as *Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes* from the Bible, or *Pecunia non parit pecuniam* from Aristotle, or later interpretations of such quotations or meanings read into the Fathers could no longer be referred to as ultimate grounds for accepting the one or the other opinion about interest. . . . Thus we see that the two factors which created Modern Times, viz., the economic revolution and the emancipation of thought also supplied the necessary conditions for a scientific treatment of the problem of interest."² Obviously, neither of these

¹ *Principles of Economics*, 8 ed., 586n

² *Nature and Necessity of Interest* (London, 1903), 3, 6

gentlemen had ever read a canon or a canonist; they were suppressing thought by appealing to the authority of Archdeacon Cunningham. Father Cantwell's documents make possible a beginning in the direction of real investigation.

Finally, usury analysis is not dead. The credit expansion and inflation of the War of 1914 raised the question in many minds as to the title to compensation

for the use of something which had no cost of production, namely, created bank balances. Robbins, Benvenisti, Wilson, Soddy, Somerville, Keynes have revived the question and sooner or later it must be answered.

Father Cantwell has served all three of these purposes by presenting his selection of basic church documents on usury.

BERNARD W. DEMPSEY, S.J.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

I Lateran Council II, 1139; General X.

Canon 13. Porro destestabilem et probrosam, divinis et humanis legibus per Scripturam in Veteri et Novo Testamento abdicatam, illam, inquam, insatiabilem foeneratorum rapacitatem damnamus, et ab omni ecclesiastica consolatione sequestramus, praecipientes, ut nullus archiepiscopus, nullus episcopus, vel cujuslibet ordinis abbas, seu quivis in ordine et clero, nisi cum summa cautela usurarios recipere presumat, sed in tota vita infames habeantur et, nisi resipuerint, christiana sepultura priventur.—*Enchiridion Symbolorum Denziger, Bannwart, Umberg* Ed. 16, 17; p. 168—hereafter referred to as D.B.U.

Canon 13. Moreover that detestable and shameful rapacity, condemned alike by human and divine law, through the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that insatiable rapacity of usurers we condemn and cut off from all ecclesiastical consolation; we order that no archbishop, no bishop, or abbot of any religious order or anyone in religion and in the clergy, presume to receive usurers except with the very greatest caution, that on the contrary usurers are to be regarded as infamous in all things and that, if they do not repent, they are to be deprived of Christian burial.

II Alexander III (1159-1181).

Alex. III declarat non posse in recipienda ad usuram pecunia dispensationem fieri, neque etiam ut pauperes qui Saracenorum capitivitate tenentur, per eandem pessint pecuniam liberari . . .

Ibid. rejicit quorundam exceptionem, illas tantum usuras restituendas esse quae post Lateranensis II decretum fuerint receptae (cap. 4).

Denique, statuit ipsos heredes, filios vel extraneos, ad restitutionem teneri (cap. 9).—*C.I.C. Decr. V, 19, 4.*

Alexander III declares that no dispensation can be had for accepting money at usury, not even to liberate with that money the poor who are held in captivity by the Saracens . . .

He also rejects an exception laid down by some: that only that usury had to be restored which had been received after the decree of the II Lateran Council.

Finally he declares that heirs, sons or outsiders, are bound to make restitution.

III Alexander III (1159-1181)

In civitate tua dicis saepe contingere, quod, cum quidam piper, seu cinamomum, seu alis merces comparant, quae tunc ultra quinque libras non valent, et promittunt se illis, a quibus illas merces accipiunt, sex libras statuto tempore soluturos. Licet autom contractus hujusmodi ex tali forma non possit censi nomine usurarum, nihilominus tamen venditores pecca-

tum incurrunt, nisi dubium sit merces illae plus minusve solutionis tempore valituros: et ideo cives tui salutis suae bene consulere, si a tali contractu cessarent, cum cogitationes hominum omnipotenti Deo nequeant occultari.—D.B.U. p. 173.

You say that it often happens in your city, that when some people buy pepper or cinnamon or other wares, which at the time are not worth more than five *libra*, they promise those from whom they receive these goods that they will pay six *libra* at an appointed future time. Although contracts of this kind cannot be censured as usurious on account of their form, nevertheless the sellers commit sin unless it is doubtful whether the goods will be of greater or less worth at the time of payment. And so, your citizens will do well for their own salvation if they stop making contracts in that way. For the thoughts of men cannot be hidden from almighty God.

IV Urban III (1185-1187).

Consuluit nos . . . tua devotio, an ille in iudicio animarum quasi usurarius debeat judicari, qui non alias mutuo traditurus, eo proposito mutuam pecuniam credit, ut, licet omni conventionione cessante, plus tamen sorte recipiat; et utrum eodem reatu criminis involvatur, qui, ut vulgo dicitur, non aliter parabolam juramenti concedit, donec, quamvis sine exactione, emolumentum aliquod inde percipiat; et an negotiator poena consimili debeat condemnari, qui merces suas longe majore pretio distrahit, si, ad solutionem faciendam prolixionis temporis dilatio prorogetur, quam si ei in continenti pretium persolvatur. Verum quia, quid in his casibus tenendum sit, ex evangelio Lucae manifeste cognoscitur in quo dicitur; "Date mutuam nihil inde sperantes" (L 6, 35): hujusmodi homines pro intentione lucri quam habent, cum omnis usura et superabundantia prohibeatur in lege, judicandi sunt male agere, et ad ea, quae taliter sunt accepta, restituenda in animarum iudicio efficaciter inducendi.—D.B.U. p. 176.

You have asked us whether, in the judgment of souls, that man is to be considered a usurer who, without any agreement about the matter, gives money in a loan of mutuum with the intention of getting back more than he loaned—otherwise, he would not lend the money in a mutuum; and whether he who, as the common saying has it, does not grant the "parabolam juramenti" unless he makes a profit out of it—although he does not make a demand—is involved in the same guilt of crime; and whether a business man ought to be condemned of like punishment who sells his wares for a far greater price when a long time is to pass before payment, than when the price is paid to him immediately? In truth since the position that is to be

(Please turn to page forty-one)

Medieval Universities, II

William J. McGucken, S.J., Ph. D.

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Life of Masters and Students

IF precision is difficult with regard to the external organization, the origin and growth of the medieval university, a much greater task it is to get an accurate picture of that which really makes the university, the life of the masters and the scholars, their life as men, and their life as students. The average undergraduate, let us say at Paris, in the school of Arts was younger than a modern undergraduate, and yet he was no schoolboy. His interests were mature interests, even though they were not always worthy ones. At his best he was passionately fond of the pursuit of knowledge, eager to drink deep of the torrent of new learning that was made available to the western world during those days of university beginnings. Often we read of him begging his way during vacations—this was true of a fair number of them—"poor" and "clerk" went together with monotonous frequency. Yet he was not a pauper of the lowest classes. Rather—the average medieval student—came of the sturdy peasant class or the growing middle class; his parents were not able to support him during his long and arduous years of study; and so he was not ashamed to beg during the vacations from wealthy merchants—begging was not a dishonorable practice to the medieval man. Often enough he worked his way through the university by copying manuscripts or performing menial tasks in the hostels. He was a clerk—at Paris at least, all were clerks,—but he was most emphatically not a seminarian. *Clericus* in the middle ages was equivalent to scholar. And *laicus*, or lay man, to quote the learned Du Cange, was equivalent to *illiteratus, indoctus*, illiterate or ignorant. And Du Cange cites an eleventh century authority who derives the word *laicus* from *lapis*. Hence *laicus*, i. e. *lapidens quia durus et extraneus a scientia litterarum*. Many who came to Paris were *clerici*, but they had no intention of advancing from bachelors to holy orders. This was true of both masters and students. But to abandon the clerical order meant the abandonment of a scholarly career.

Numbers at Medieval Universities

How many students attended the medieval universities? Scholars despair of giving an exact answer to this. Medieval chroniclers are notorious exaggerators, especially when there is question of numbers. Some of the figures given by contemporaries for Paris, for example, go as high as 40,000. Wycliff in the fourteenth century claimed that at one time there were 60,000 at Oxford, "whereas now in these degenerate days the numbers have dwindled to 6,000." Probably Oxford never had more than 3,000, Paris at most 5,000-6,000.

In a group of students at a university then and now one would find all sorts and conditions of men and boys. The poor student who lives from hand to mouth; the rich man's son who is well provided with all that he needs for his studies and lives in luxurious lodgings. There are industrious youths and virtuous youths, lazy

ne'er-do-wells, and boys that spend their time in wine-bibbing and dissoluteness. One main source of information for this is the medieval preacher whose vitriolic attacks on the wastrels leaves little for the imagination. An extraordinary amount of liberty was granted these university youths—most of them under twenty. If they did not find books to their liking, there was plenty of mischief waiting for them. The *manuale scolarium*, a manual in Latin that gave the boy not too familiar with Latin an opportunity to acquire in a short time the conversational Latin needed for his university life—Latin was the language of the schools—gives us a vivid, if not a typical picture, of what the average boy encountered. Then, of course, there are contemporary accounts of brawls and fights, coroners' records of broken pates in the periodical conflict between town and gown, all bearing witness to the fact that some of the students at least were not spending all their time on Aristotle. However, as Rashdall remarks, the life of the virtuous student has no annals. He never makes the first page even in our day. We must recognize that it was a rough age. The university authorities had penalties for certain grave offenses, but alas, then as now, the students were not always apprehended in *flagrante delicto*. At Leipsig even in the fifteenth century, there were severe penalties for any one lifting a stone or other missile with the intention of throwing it as a master. Perhaps they were particularly poor professors at Leipsig. For throwing and missing the penalty was eight florins. There was a still higher penalty for *successful* marksmanship.

The medieval student often had it brought home to him that knowledge maketh a bloody entrance. When he came up to the university, he was called a *beanus*, i. e. a *bec-jaune*—a yellow beak or, as we should say, a greenhorn. The wildest hazing exploits of American colleges and universities of a generation ago never equalled the cruelties to which the *beanus* was forced to undergo at his initiation into the student body. Yet the medieval man, like his American successor, looked back upon it complacently enough no doubt and proceeded to have his fun with the incoming freshmen the year after his harrowing experience.

The poorer students, who were the majority, were often in difficulties not only for books,—and the copying of books was a costly business then,—but also for means to keep body and soul alive. In some of the "letter-writer's ready guides," that were the equivalent of best-sellers in their days and that provided the student with ready-made letters for every conceivable purpose in flowing if not elegant Latin, it is amazing to see how many begging letters there are, letters to a mother or to a father, to a rich uncle, to a wealthy canon and the like. Here is a specimen written from Oxford:

To his venerable master a greeting. This is to inform you that I am studying at Oxford with the greatest diligence but the matter of money stands in the way of my promotion as it is now two months since I spent the last of what you sent me. The city is expensive and makes many de-

mands; I have to rent lodgings, buy necessities, and provide for many other things which I cannot now specify. Wherefore I respectfully beg your paternity that by the promptings of divine pity you may assist me so that I may be able to complete what I have well begun. For you must know that without Ceres and Bacchus Apollo grows cold.

Medieval Student Virtuous and Industrious

But despite all these hardships, there is no need of exaggerating the lot of the medieval student. Many of them lived as well, considering the times, as many American boys in our days at American colleges. And what might be hardships to us were not to the medieval man; he was made of sterner stuff. So too the pictures of the wilder side of university life should not lead us into the belief that it is typical. The majority of the students were law-abiding, virtuous and studious. Over against the *scholares vagantes*, with their lewd songs, their gross irreverences, we can set Chaucer's clerk of Oxford

For him was lever have at his beddes heed
Twenty bokes clad in blak or reed
Of Aristotle and his philosophye
Than robes riche, or fithele, or gay sautrye.

It was in this numerous group of serious students at Paris and Oxford, at Bologna and Salamanca that the intellectual ferment of the age worked. It was they who sat at the feet of great masters and gave inspiration to their teaching. Men of this type, masters and students alike were passionately interested in things of the mind. No one who examines the medieval university can fail to be impressed by the enthusiastic eagerness with which leaders of Christian thought such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Grossetest, and Roger Bacon strove to assimilate the new knowledge and present it to others; new horizons were daily discovered, new worlds were opened before this *juventus studiosa*.

Scholasticism and the University

It was in the world of the medieval university that scholasticism was born, that marvelous synthesis presented at its best in the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Many minds had gone to its fashioning, just as many hands had entered into the making of the Gothic cathedrals. Albert the Great was the "Titan who assembled the material, Aquinas is . . . the god who orders it; . . . the actual edifice was due nonetheless to the suave yet transcendent genius of Aquinas."³ As Professor A. E. Taylor has said: "We are all agreed to recognize in St. Thomas one of the great master-philosophers of human history whose thought is part of the permanent inheritance of civilized Europeans and whose influence is still living and salutary. . . . Thomist philosophy is no mere Aristotelianism revised, but a masterly synthesis of both Plato and Aristotle with one another and with Augustine, effected by original insight of the first order."⁴ These are the men on whom the universities were built.

The university was the matter and scholasticism was the form of medieval learning. One of the greatest achievements of the university was that it gave a proper setting and environment for the growth of this system of scholasticism so that Harnack, no friendly critic of

things medieval, calls it scientific thought at its best. It sanctified, consecrated learning, elevated reason to its proper place, "joined together the physical and spiritual worlds harmoniously, relied on sense experience and proclaimed the exalting and disciplinary power of the human intellect."

That the modern mind can find much to criticize in the medieval university, its method of teaching, its too great reliance on books in no whit detracts from the greatness of its cultural work. Their comparative sterility in natural science was due to circumstances; they had just recovered Greek science as embodied in the writings of Aristotle and that represented a "level of scientific achievement far higher than anything which the medieval world could attain to by its unaided powers and consequently it was taken over *en bloc* by the medieval world." Nevertheless the scientific discoveries of which the modern world is justly proud owe a great deal to the medieval thinker, to men like Grosseteste and Roger Bacon who held fast to a scientific idealism. Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar, was great not because of his "scientific achievement which was small, nor in his scientific method which was inferior to that of his master, Peter of Maricourt, the obscure *Magister Experimentorum*. His greatness is to be found in the scientific vision and imagination which made him the discoverer of a new scientific ideal and the prophet of the new world of modern science."⁵

In a letter to William of Paris Friar Bacon wrote:

It is possible to devise an apparatus for sailing without the aid of rowers, in such wise that the biggest ships, with one man in control, may move, either on the river or the open sea, with greater velocity than if a crew were on board. Similarly, cars may be constructed to travel with incalculable speed without any animals to draw them; such, we conceive, as those scythed chariots were, which of old were used in battle. So again, flying-machines may be built, in which a man, sitting in the middle of the machine, may drive some engine, by means of which artificial pinions can be made to beat the air, as a bird does when on the wing.⁶

Medieval Academic Freedom

At the convention of the Department of Superintendents of the N.E.A. held a few years ago there was a great deal of discussion about academic freedom. Here at least the modern cries, the twentieth century is vastly superior to the thirteenth; we have grown much more tolerant, much more broad-minded. Is it true? If one examines the *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* for the stormiest period of the history of the great university, there were comparatively few condemnations of men who expressed opinions. Indeed, we are apt to draw a false conclusion that scholasticism was one thing. It was not; it was many. The contests between different schools and groups were at least as keen as in our own day. Trouble arose out of theological heresy, and especially of undue meddling with theological subjects by those deemed incompetent by reason of lack of training. But controversies there were and controversies that shook Christendom. It is true no

(Please turn to page forty)

³ Dawson, *Medieval Religion*, p. 86

⁶ Quoted from Thurston, *Superstition*, pp. 22-23 Cfr. also J. S. Brewer's Edition of the *Opus Tertium*, etc., *Rolls Series*, 1859, p. 533

³ Martindale, *Catholic Thought and Thinkers*

⁴ Walshe, *Quest of Reality*, p. 576

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EDITORIALS

Owing to the continued illness of the Reverend Raymond Corrigan, the Reverend John E. Cantwell has taken over the position of Acting Editor of THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN with the aid of the Reverend Joseph S. Brusher as consultant. The following editorials, however, come from the pen of Father Corrigan, despite the condition of his health.

We Shall Win the War

A little over a hundred years ago a brilliant young Frenchman wrote: "... when a democratic people engages in a war after a long peace, it incurs much more risk of defeat than any other nation; but it ought not easily to be cast down by its reverses, for the chances of success ... are increased by the duration of the war. When the war ... has roused the whole community from their peaceful occupations and ruined their minor undertakings, the same passions which made them attach so much importance to the maintenance of peace will be turned to arms. War, after it has destroyed all modes of speculation, becomes itself the great and sole speculation, to which all the ardent and ambitious desires which equality engenders are exclusively directed." He attempts to explain why "democratic armies [are] weaker than others at the outset of a campaign and more formidable in protracted warfare." In this discussion he is not an historian appealing to the facts of the past, he is rather the philosopher drawing his abstract conclusions from an analysis of historical forces.

The thinker who is here quoted is Alexis de Tocqueville, an aristocrat who shook himself free from the traditions of a crumbled world and turned to the study, not altogether unsympathetic, of the resistless tide of a rising democracy. He gathered what wisdom he could from ancient writers. Then he sailed for America, at the age of twenty-five, to see "equality" in action in the great open laboratory of the young Republic. A few years later he wrote his classic *Democracy in America*, his primary purpose being to instruct his own countrymen. Tocqueville knew how to distinguish between what was peculiar to democracy and what was peculiar to America. And he did not make the mistake of ascribing to social and political condi-

tions what was really due to the immense riches and the splendid isolation with which God had endowed our "democracy." He observed with a keen eye; he reflected; then he set forth his ideas on the nature of our way of life, which, if true, should console and reassure us now.

We are told that "... of all armies those most ardently desirous of war are democratic armies, and of all nations those most fond of peace are democratic nations ... [and that] these contrary effects are produced at the same time by the principle of equality." As a people in a land of limitless opportunity we (i.e. our ancestors) prefer to attend to business, amass wealth and enjoy the blessings of prosperity. In time of peace the army is all but forgotten; it is filled with "elderly officers ... unfit for actual service," while the common soldier has little ambition or fighting spirit.

Tocqueville knew nothing of the totalitarian armies of the present day. But he could point out the initial advantages of an aristocracy with its military caste and its high sense of honor. When, however, a democratic people is forced to abandon the comforts of peace and become a "nation in arms" it can call up resources which no "slave" power can meet. The discipline and morale of the soldier are rooted in his reason and his will. He obeys because he wants to obey. What Tocqueville might make of the Nazi war machine we do not know. But he did sense the strength of a fighting democracy. He had, of course, the recent French *élan* in the wars of the Revolution to guide him. But he was laying down great general truths founded in the nature of things. His views should find ready application in the present war.

A democracy, where equality of opportunity means intense devotion to money-making, is likely to be weak, flabby, lethargic at the opening of a conflict. But let it withstand the first attack, and it grows daily stronger in armed might and in fighting spirit. In a protracted struggle it is almost certain of victory. Perhaps, these are mere commonplaces. At least, they were discussed by an able thinker over a century ago. Tocqueville also insisted on the obvious fact (possibly with Napoleon in mind) that a democratic army in its hour of victory

may be a danger to the democracy from which it has sprung.

Under-graduate Historians

The guilds of long ago used to demand a masterpiece from the aspirant to full membership. The same practice prevailed in the university,—which carried over the guild idea into the realm of academic pursuits. Today we have the doctoral dissertation and the master's thesis; and we are told their purpose is to add to the sum of human knowledge. More correctly stated, the first aim of all student production (from the master down to the undergraduate and from the young doctor up to the still ambitious member of the faculty) is to show that the producer *can* add to the world's knowledge, to prove his ability to *do* things on his own and also, implicitly at least, to develop such power through exercise.

This wandering preamble will serve to introduce a student publication which may suggest a happy thought to college teachers. Last May the historical-minded students of Marygrove College in Detroit prepared a year-book which is somewhat more serious, more solid than the ordinary collection of photographs that cheers a group of departing seniors. Under the caption, *A Spiritual Conquest*, twenty-eight students contribute as many chapters on the Reductions of Paraguay, one of the really noble experiments of history. A scholarly tone is maintained throughout; there is evidence of research which is a credit to undergraduates; the bibliography alone would make the year-book a valuable acquisition for any college library.

In 1941 a similar year-book issued from the same source. It was devoted to a study of the *Rerum Novarum*, and it revealed high-class student effort. One suspects, naturally, that the inspiration, initiative, organization and direction came from one or several members of the College faculty. In both year-books there is the same unity of thought and variety of treatment, the same large-scale planning and relative completeness. In both a group of intelligent students under the guidance of a trained historian have applied the best technique to the triple process, finding scattered facts, sifting them critically and presenting the result in readable form. Since the sources were in half-a-dozen languages, an added obstacle to be overcome, with outside help which is duly acknowledged, gave an added assurance of new power acquired. Very few of the young ladies will become historians, but they will have that modicum of historical method which is all but indispensable to anyone who would write, read, or even converse as an educated person.

The choice of the topic has much to commend it. Paraguay from 1610 to 1767 was the scene of mission endeavor on a large scale which, though by no means unique, remains the best example of its kind. Savages were civilized and the wilderness was turned into a garden. "The golden years along the Paraguay" have been called an attempt to realize in practical life one or several "Utopias" of the time. Here you had, indeed, a "vanished Arcadia." The story as told in the original

records is simple enough. But in the accumulated literature of later years, as in so much that touches the Jesuits, two versions appear: one of them tending to idealize the hard and often prosaic reality; the other a mass of slander, of falsification and distortion, born, in the first place, of the greed and the troubled consciences of those who wrecked the Reductions to build their own private fortunes on the ruins. The tragedy which darkens the end of the Reductions but adds to the heroism of the long story. But a low type of propaganda was effective in the eighteenth century, and the muddled records still tax the critical skill of the historian. This is a good field for the amateur researcher.

Another reason why this is an excellent topic is the fact that it is a chapter in mission history. The faith, the apostolic zeal and the unselfishness of the missionary provide wholesome intellectual food for the student. But for one who would understand the living Church of Christ, for one who would see the palpitating vitality of the Body animated by the Holy Ghost, there is no object of investigation better than the missions. In the missions you have evidence of growth, and growth is one of the surest signs of life. The heroic holiness of many devoted men is a further proof that God is with His people.

Finally, in the distracted present, when history of the more remote sort at least would seem to be somewhat out of place, Latin America still holds its own among topics of vital importance. It might be difficult to put your finger on anything in the vast expanse south of the Rio Grande which will help or hinder the winning of the War, and say: this is traceable to the lost paradise of Paraguay. The forces which ruthlessly destroyed the missions were, no doubt, the forces which vitiated modern statecraft, and the return of thousands of natives to barbarism was a factor in Latin American backwardness. But the point to insist upon is that the student of these missions sees the Church producing a Christian Culture. And all but the wilfully blind and dumb know that an understanding of this Christian, Catholic culture is a first step toward an understanding of the Latin America of today.

* * * * *

Father Francis S. Betten closed his long career in the early morning of December eighth. With his eightieth birthday only a few months away, and rich in titles to whatever reward the Just Judge has in store for those who serve unselfishly to the end, he went to join the growing galaxy of historians whose names are well known to readers of THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN. Over a period of twenty years Fathers Gilbert J. Garraghan, Thomas J. Hughes, Francis Mannhardt, Alfred Kaufmann and Laurence K. Patterson were regular contributors upon whom the editor could always rely. As each of these passed from the scene Father Betten seemed more keenly aware of the narrowing field and more appreciative of every effort to bring Catholic truth before the reading public. If he had never written a line, the interest he showed in the writing of others and his friendly criticism would have made his passing a loss that we all feel.

R. I. P.

Failures of Mexico

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THE superficial tourist mind conceives of Mexico as a land of splashing fountains in sunbaked patios, a country filled with the strumming of guitars and the click of castanets, a happy place where fiesta and siesta are the natives' chief preoccupation. Far different is the reality. The comic opera aspects which lovers of the picturesque seek in Mexico were rather to be found in Alta California of the Dons. The brooding land to the South of the Rio Grande has a history much too tragic to allow what opera-bouffe elements are present to set the tone. Mexican history is an opera whose music is in minor key, whose scenes are so starkly sombre that even a Goya could not do them justice. From the Aztecs eating their victims' hearts in the 16th century to Garrido's gangsters shooting down women and children in the 20th, the pages of Mexican history are disfigured by ugly bloodstains.

This absorbing though gloomy history is pictured for us by James A. Wagner as he tells the story of *The Men of Mexico*.¹ Those who have enjoyed Dr. Wagner's articles on Spanish American affairs in *Extension* and other periodicals will expect an accurate and interesting narrative. They will not be disappointed. Starting with Moctezuma II and ending with Lázaro Cárdenas Dr. Wagner really gives us a popular history of Mexico. The violence, the leit-motiv of blood which runs through these sketches, make interesting reading, but it is an unhappy story as it is an unhappy country.

Yet this land of the *ley fuga* and the *coup de grace* is our neighbor. We can not move from the neighborhood, nor can we turn our faces away from the misery. Above all, today when Pan-American solidarity is the Western hemisphere watchword, we should try to understand those Spanish Americans who live next door. Mexican history touches that of the United States on more than one page, and while it would be absurd to saddle Uncle Sam with all the responsibility for the woes of Mexico, the bearded gentleman who is our symbol has done enough mischief to make us wish we could skip a page or two. From Joel Poinsett intriguing against Iturbide to Josephus Daniels praising the fascist Calles American influence has been used all too often to heighten the suffering of Mexico.

The factors which led to Mexico's undoing are so complex that no one simple formula will explain the sad state of affairs. A political cause, certainly was the failure to establish a workable government. This failure was threefold: the failure of Iturbide to establish a frankly authoritarian government; the failure of Díaz to use his vast power either to do the same or to prepare Mexico for a democratic government; the failure of Madero to direct the flood which swept him to power into the channels of orderly democratic government. The forms of government which a nation can use are manifold but they can all be resolved into three genuine

types: authoritarian, democratic, totalitarian. By an authoritarian government I mean one which does not depend upon democracy, which does not rule through popularly elected representatives, but which does recognize that the state is the servant of the people, not the *absolute* master. In other words an authoritarian government recognizes inalienable rights in the people, rights which the state can not give, and which therefore the state can not take away. Such a government had most of the old Christian monarchies. A totalitarian government may yield lip service to democracy, may pretend to lean upon representative institutions, but in practice it can not exist apart from the most rigid dictatorship. Totalitarians, be their color brown, black, or red, exalt the state as the be all and the end all. For them the citizen exists for the state, not the state for the citizen.

Augustín de Iturbide, the George Washington of Mexican independence, tried to establish a hereditary empire. He failed, and that failure was a source of great woe to his country. When I say this, I do not mean that I think authoritarian government is the best type. I do not. Democratic government, it seems to me, is the type most in conformity with the dignity of man, but only a doctrinaire in an ivory tower could hold that such government is suitable for every people, in every clime, under every set of circumstances. As the story of the *Men of Mexico* amply proves, the Mexican people were neither intelligent enough nor sufficiently self-disciplined to accept democracy. To make democratic government work, a people must be intelligent enough to use the ballot, and self-disciplined enough to accept its verdict. The motley array of revolutionists who strutted across the Mexican stage after the downfall of Iturbide speaks for itself.

The rise of a strong and capable ruler in the latter part of the nineteenth century gave Mexico another chance to achieve a workable government. Porfirio Díaz ruled Mexico from 1877 to 1911 with one brief exception when his man Gonzáles held the title of president (1880-1884). This long reign was marked by peace and prosperity such as Mexico had not known since the days of the viceroys. The defects of the Díaz government were due to his "liberalism." Though too much the statesman to enforce the harsh anti-Catholic laws of Juárez and Lerdo, Díaz kept these bigoted statutes on the books, an ever present threat. His lack of concern for the peon also sprang from his liberalism. The land laws of Juárez and Lerdo were carried into effect with the result that fat hacendados gorged themselves on the ejidal lands of the poor. Thus was fostered an agrarian injustice, which was to breed continual trouble for Mexico. Outside of these typical "liberal" injustices Díaz gave Mexico good government.

In 1908 the first crack in the Díaz edifice appeared. Don Porfirio was a very old man now, and his insin-

¹ *Men of Mexico*, by James A. Wagner. Milwaukee, Bruce, 1942. pp. vii + 614. \$4.00.

Outlines of Revolution

FRANCE

IN every society there are certain forces at work. Whether these forces are the result of pressure from without or activities emanating from within, for the present, immaterial. The important point is that such forces do exist. In a well-ordered, well-regulated system these energies are held in check, are tempered to a smooth, even functioning characteristic of political health and social well-being. As long as this vital condition is maintained the security of the body politic is assured. It is only when the dynamic balance of the State is disturbed and infection begins gnawing away at the roots of institutions, that the essential equilibrium of society is threatened. If such a gangrenous condition is suffered to remain, it gradually, and sometimes rapidly, increases in strength and tenacity until at last it breaks out in violent protest against the very society that gave it birth. In such extreme cases revolution results.

It is not the purpose of the present article to explain in metaphysical terminology any so-called "laws of

ENGLAND

revolution." Such an attempt would err in its fundamental premise by presupposing the existence of a non-existent entity. It would be tantamount to an endeavor to predict the actions of free will operating under mythical or hypothetical circumstances. For despite any popular assertion to the contrary, there is no fixed law of revolution. There are only revolutions.

This does not mean, however, that there are not certain quasi-categories to which the several phases of revolutions can be reduced. The exact opposite seems to be true. Human nature is very much the same, and human nature everywhere under various specific circumstances *tends* to act more or less uniformly. In other words, there does seem to be a foundation for saying that revolutions in general will *tend* to conform to a definite pattern scheme. Certainly there will be similarities if nothing else; and that is all that the present study hopes to point out: that such similarities do exist.

Background: Ancien Régime

Gradual buildup.

Structural decay—*Politically*: inefficient government. Serious incapacity of Bourbons. Petticoat government (Du Barry, Pompadour). Confusion in the administrative system. Legal mazes.

Corruption among officials: venality, greed, graft rampant.

Economically: widespread discontent. Heavy taxation unequally distributed. Lot of peasants in many sections very hard-ground down by taxes: *gabelle, taille, traites, corvée, octrois*, etc. Smuggling common as a result.

Financially: an irresponsible government; funds wasted. Enormous extravagance of Versailles.

Socially: moral rotteness. Diseased society. Glorification of sin. Artificiality; powdered wigs; dancing, etiquette the substance of education for young nobles.

Gradual buildup.

Structural decay—*Politically*: inefficient government. Inability of Crown to meet the demands of transition from feudal to modern form of government. Disruption in the machinery of government: quarrels between King and Parliament.

Political corruption: bribery (Francis Bacon), intrigue, sinecures, pensions.

Economically: discontent evident among some of the merchants. King's power to levy certain taxes attacked.

Peasants not ground down by taxes.

Financially: Stuarts notorious for lack of money.

Socially: "loose morals" charge not true of Charles I: court very restrained. Convention, superficiality. The "Age of Manners." Wit; social grace; "culture."

Preliminary Symptoms

Increase of general restlessness. Traveling results in criticism of existing home institutions (Voltaire, Rousseau). Infiltration of new, subversive ideas.

Era of the Enlightenment. The "Age of Reason." Revolt of the Intellectuals: encyclopedists, *philosophes*. Stressed the need for reform; concentrated the popular irritation. Criticism of the government (Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Diderot, D'Alembert, D'Holbach).

"Pressure groups": *Sociétés de pensée* (study clubs). Freemason Lodges: centers of revolutionary agitation. Salons: centers of seditious criticism (Mme. Roland).

Personal rule of Charles I only the calm before the storm. Superficial content.

Intellectuals rebel. Publicists (Eliot, Pym, Hampden) focus popular discontent. "Literature of exposure;" muck-raking: sermons, poems, journals. Political influence of Suarez and Bellarmine.

"Pressure groups": Independent Puritans. Undermining program carried on in pulpit and press. Pamphlet propaganda: predominant religious-political tone.

Eve of the Revolution: Proximate Causes

Political: governmental inefficiency. Disorganized administrative system; France not a unit. Louis XVI an inept king: politically nearsighted, intellectually deficient, vacillating, easily influenced. Well-meaning, but not the man for the task. Disastrous interference of Marie Antoinette in affairs of state. Political favorites.

Political: governmental inefficiency. Parliament and Crown at odds. Lobbying in Parliament. Charles I: complete inability to read the signs of the times. Proclivity to intrigue; bungling policy. Tactless. Favoritism.

A Parallel Study of Four Great Historical Movements

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RUSSIA

Obviously the subject has its limitations. A detailed study of *all* revolutions is impossible here. A choice has had to be made, and even here a difficulty is apparent. Not all revolutions are successful revolutions: the four that have been chosen were. Not all revolutions grow out of identical social and political backgrounds. The American Revolution, for instance, lacks the element of *ancien régime* common to the French, English, (i.e. the Puritan Revolution, not the Revolution of 1688-89) and Russian upheavals. Nor is there in the colonial movement the phenomenon of a diseased society so apparent in the other three cases. Clearly there are differences, but do these differences vitiate the comparison itself? Not necessarily. Rather they serve to emphasize a point already made, namely, that revolutions do not follow any precise laws.

Another point is to be noted and kept in mind throughout: the outline is suggestive, not definitive.

Background: Ancien Régime

Slow maturation process.

Structural decay—*Politically*: incapacity of the Czars in governmental matters. The unwieldiness of an absolute monarchy.

Economically: discontent especially among the peasant class. Lot of peasants very hard. Poverty and illiteracy common among both peasants and villagers. Tax burdens very heavy.

Financially: Russian government fared somewhat better in this respect.

Socially: immorality in pre-revolutionary society mirrored in works of Russian authors. Class distinctions.

It presupposes at least a minimum amount of knowledge on the part of the reader, plus the ability to make qualifications. This latter requisite is always necessary when dealing with any work in which categorical statements predominate.

What follows is by no means original. In more than one sense this study is predominantly a simplified synthesis of what has already been accomplished in the field of "revolutionary" research. The underlying motif is not a novel one. More than fifteen years ago Professor Lyford P. Edwards pointed the way with his useful account of *The Natural History of Revolution*. More recently Professor Brinton of Harvard expanded the same subject with an extremely valuable exposé of *The Anatomy of Revolution*. Their work is outstanding in a field which remains comparatively unexplored. Many of the ideas here advanced owe their existence primarily to them.

Buildup gradual but not so long in point of time.

Structural decay not marked. *Politically*: tendency of Parliament to assume more control over the colonies. Colonial charters revised; royal governors given more power. Colonists resent the increased supervision. Result: friction and quarrels between royal representatives and colonials.

Economically: apprehension among merchants, traders, and frontiersmen due to increasing interference of the Crown in colonial economic life. Trade and Navigation Acts, Woolen Act, Sugar and Molasses Act, etc. Taxation not oppressive but irritating.

Financially: dissatisfaction over imperial legislation concerning the currency problem.

Socially: public morals good. Simplicity of life. Class distinctions in the colonies evident by the 18th century.

Preliminary Symptoms

Increasing restlessness and dissatisfaction. Traveling a favorite diversion. Bakunin and Kropotkin—wandering revolutionary aristocrats. Marx—perpetual exile. Lenin, Trotsky.

Intellectuals: anti-government novelists and writers (Turgenev, Tolstoy). Philosophical stimulus: dialectical materialism. MARXISM: "Down with the capitalist, up with the proletariat."

"Pressure groups:" played a prominent role in preparing for the revolution. Numerous hostile factions: socialists, liberals, nihilists, Bolsheviks, Mensheviks. The Duma—used chiefly as a discussion club.

Growing dissatisfaction with British colonial policy. Change in colonial attitude: after 1763 they no longer needed the protection of the British empire. Merchants desire more power in ruling themselves.

Intellectuals: the Boston litterateurs. Some anti-Crown sentiment voiced in journals, sermons, pamphlets. Reverberations of the Enlightenment: influence of Locke and Montesquieu. "Rights of Man."

"Pressure groups:" (not in evidence till later) various merchant committees aiming at the retraction of the colonial policy: Sons of Liberty; Committees of Correspondence (Sam Adams).

Eve of the Revolution: Proximate Causes

Political: incompetent absolute monarchy. Breakdown sudden; result of military failure in the World War. Nicholas II: weak, irresolute, low-minded, intellectually deficient, easily-influenced. Court favoritism (Rasputin). Domineering influence of the Czarina Alexandra over Nicholas.

Political: nearsightedness of British government. Vacillating policy: concessions and retractions (1763-1774). George III: a poor king, stubborn, politically stupid, "rule and reign."

FRANCE

Attempts at reform sincere but mishandled (Turgot).

Financial: a bankrupt government.

Economic: peasants—land hunger. Grinding taxation. Evils of absentee landlordism. Food shortage: poor harvests (1788). Hunger marches. Bourgeoisie—growing prosperity. Ambitious; tasting power and desiring more. Tax reforms alienate the exempt nobility. Economic *laissez-faire* antagonizes the guilds. Reduced tariff rates of Treaty of 1786 antagonizes big business.

Social: dislocation and strain in society. Class division: inequality of privilege (*noblesse de robe*). Envy. Abuse of authority: *lettres de cachet*. Old régime ridiculed; nobility waver in loyalty to the Crown.

Religious: abuse and lukewarmness among ecclesiastics. Too many episcopal sees. High-salaried bishops; impoverished curés. Laxity in many institutions.

First Phase: The March of Events

Cashiers: lists of grievances.

Meeting of the States General. Third Estate given double representation—victory for the bourgeoisie and peasantry. Heated debates over national issues. Tennis Court Oath. Third Estate declares itself the National Assembly.

Mirabeau's challenge to the grand Master of Ceremonies at the royal session. King yields. Concentration of troops near Paris. Fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789); royal troops fraternize with the mob. Revolutionists in the saddle. Triumph over the old regime considered as accomplished. Popular rejoicing. Brief period of revolutionary peace follows.

Second Phase: The Moderates in Power

Personnel: bourgeoisie for the most part, plus a sprinkling of nobility.

Mob action a decisive factor only on five or six days.

Leaders: men of social standing generally—nobles: Lafayette, Mirabeau, Lameth, Condorcet. Lawyers: Robespierre, Danton, Camus. Publicists: Brissot, Demoulin, Marat. Scientists: Lavoisier, Bailly, Monge.

Policy: the establishment of a strong constitutional monarchy; administration of affairs to be in the hands of the middle class. Political abuses corrected; reforms instituted. Administrative system reorganized. Feudalism abolished. Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Characteristics of Moderate Rule: extreme incompetence in military affairs. Deplorable condition of the army; discipline very poor. No *esprit de corps*. No co-ordinated command. Defeats in the first phase of the European war.

Persecution of aristocrats and conservatives. Emigration of nobility (*émigrés*); their property is confiscated.

Slogans, symbols, etc.: *Liberté Égalité, Fraternité*. Cockades (red, white, blue tricolor); the *fleur-de-lis*; the Marseillaise. Nominal designations: *Royaliste, Monarchiste, citoyen, Republicain*.

Opposition to the moderates: establishment of a rival, illegal government.

The Feuillants and after them the Girondist moderates opposed by Montagnard and Jacobin radicals. Extremists are better organized, more determined in their aims than the radicals. They gain the popular support of the people.

ENGLAND

Attempted reforms fail; antagonize rather than appease.

Financial: danger of bankruptcy. Stuarts always in need of money.

Economic: "peasants" not a prominent element in reform agitation. Not oppressed by taxes. Prosperity widespread among middle class. Prospect of gain coupled with fear of economic loss. Merchant opposition to tax measures: tonnage, poundage, forced loans, etc. Governmental hindrances to business enterprise: usury laws, duties on goods, interference with right of contract. Monopolies sold to court favorites.

Social: antagonistic undertone. Class division present but not as extreme in its effects. Defection on the part of nobles; many of them join the Puritan ranks.

Religious: an important element. Opposition of Puritans to "Papists" (includes others besides Roman Catholics). Dislike of Charles I for Puritanism and his sympathy for Catholics arouses the anger of Parliament.

The Grand Remonstrance: a summary of the grievances of Charles' reign. (Chronologically this belongs later.)

Struggle between Charles I and Parliament resulting in Petition of Rights—victory for the Commons. Stormy sessions in the House of Commons. Eliot's Resolutions. Parliament asserts itself. Parliament dissolved. Personal rule of Charles I.

Lenthall's defiance of Charles in Parliament. Charles' futile attempt to arrest five members of Parliament. The Commons take over the military. Civil War results. Parliament becomes the law of the land. Royalty still divided between King and Puritan party. Resting period longer than in France.

Personnel: men of means and respectability. Merchants especially prominent. The revolutionists are by no means the "off-scouring of humanity." Many members of the New Model Army are gentlemen of birth. The poorer peasants supported the King's cause.

Mobs play a decisive role on several occasions (trial of Strafford). *Leaders:* Cromwell, Ludlow, Prynne.

Policy: constitutional monarchy. No desire to overthrow the old political system entirely; aimed rather at a compromise. Creditable and lasting political reforms. Abolition of the courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission.

Petition of Right (Chronologically this belongs earlier). *Characteristics:* military inefficiency, due in large part to interference of parliamentarians in the conduct of the war. Disorganization. Defeats at hands of Royalists.

Severe persecution of Royalists. Many Royalist party members flee for safety; seek aid from Scotland.

Shibboleths, etc.: Cavalier, Roundhead. Royalist, Puritan. Parliament man. Distinctions in dress and habit: long hair and elaborate clothes for Cavaliers; straight hair and somber dress of Puritans.

Opposition: during the Civil War the legal government of Charles was opposed by the illegal government of Parliament. After the Civil War Parliament was in turn confronted by the radical Independents of the New Model Army. Resoluteness and efficiency of the Independents.

RUSSIA

Attempts at reform not very successful (Stolypin).

Financial: a collapsing budget due to war demands.

Economic: peasants—land hunger. Heavy taxes. Winter of 1916 severe. High prices; food rationing; bread lines and bread riots. Productive capacity greatly increased over that of preceding reigns. Notable progress in trade. Bourgeoisie want more power and freedom. Wretched conditions of industrial workers fomented the spirit of rebellion. Labor and class struggle.

Social: privileged nobility at top of social ladder. Highest social honors denied to the non-nobility. Class division: inequality of rights and privileges. Desertion of the nobility; concessions made to middle class. Open criticism of Czarist party.

Religious: not a cause of revolution but rather a cause of the continued power of the monarchy. Russians were devoted to the Orthodox faith.

First Phase: The March of Events

Appeal for reform antedates the revolution.

Discontent prevalent: privations of war, defeats of the army. Petrograd riots the signal. Revolutionaries capitalize on the event, Nicholas dissolves the Duma. A mistake. Workers organize the Petrograd Soveit of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Provisional government formed; controlled by the moderate Cadets.

The "February Revolution." Bread riots by women workers. Soldiers fraternize with crowd. Revolt of imperial army. Nicholas abdicates in favor of Michael. Michael refuses the crown; abdicates. END OF THE ROMANOV. Great rejoicing. Spirit of regeneration. A short respite follows.

Second Phase: The Moderates in Power

Personnel: nobles, financiers, skilled workers, merchants, prosperous peasants, industrialists, civil servants. Predominantly a proletarian revolution headed by middle class leaders. Not the rabble of society. Mob important only twice. (Feb. and Oct., 1917.)

Leaders: the rich: Tereschenck, Miliukov, Guchkov. Intellectuals: Mensheviks, S-R party. Aristocrats: Chicherin, Lord Curzon. Peasants: Stalin. Bourgeoisie: Kerensky, Lenin, Antonov-Ovseenko, Trotsky, Kamenev, Sverdlov, Joffe, Karakhan, Pokrovsky.

Policy: moderate reforms; the freedom and safety of the propertied interests. Progressive liberalism. Prince Lvov and Kerensky the representative heads.

Characteristics of Moderate Rule: failure to secure military victory. Spirit of the army poor; pessimism. Insubordination of troops, mutiny. Civil war imminent. Lvov resigns. Kerensky takes command of the armies. Provisional Government resigns. Kerensky forms Coalition Government. Trotsky demands peace. Exodus of aristocrats and prominent Czarists. Proletarian persecution of industrialists and landed gentry results in their emigration, serious handicap to business.

Bywords, etc.: capitalism, socialism, soviet, communism, bolshevik.

The red flag the popular mark of distinction. Growth of radical societies characteristic.

Opposition to moderates: rival government instituted. Provisional Government of Lvov and Kerensky opposed by Bolsheviks.

AMERICA

Colonial legislation inadequately handled. Served rather as an impetus to revolution. Unfit British representatives; failed to appreciate the colonial point of view.

Financial: Crown's need for money to realize its plan of imperial reform. Fluctuating colonial currency; lack of specie results in introduction of paper money of unequal values.

Economic: Proclamation of 1763 closed the frontier to ambitious pioneers and traders. Economic strain but no grinding poverty, want. Increase in colonial wealth and trade. Merchants resent restrictions. British rule seen as a hindrance to progressive development. Comparative prosperity of the majority of colonials.

Social: Colonial ruling class less prominent; class divisions, but none of the basic antagonism so characteristic in the other revolutions. Equality of rights emphasized. In England: support of the colonies by Fox and Burke.

Religious element: the Quebec Act angered the Puritans because it approved Catholicism beyond the mountains.

Memorials of grievances sent to King and Parliament in the years preceding the revolution.

Conflict over the Stamp Act; its repeal a victory for the colonies.

Revolutionary agitation increases. Arguments in colonial meetings over Parliament's rights in regard to the colonies. Rioting and clashes between colonials and British agents. Merchants band together for subversive purposes.

Patrick Henry's warning to George III.

Arrival of British troops in Boston. Boston Massacre. The Gaspee affair. Committees of Correspondence formed.

Boston Tea Party (Dec. 16, 1773). Boston Port Bill. First Continental Congress, Sept. 5, 1774.

No breathing spell. Events keep moving.

Personnel: New England merchants, southern planters, small farmers, artisans, lawyers, the majority of the clergy. Boston Sons of Liberty: proletarian element.

Leaders: men of good social standing. John Dickinson, John Jay, Joseph Galloway, John Rutledge, Henry Middleton.

Policy: reconciliation if possible; constitutional rights. Economic liberty. Removal of hindrances to business enterprise.

The Declaration of Rights, 1774.

Characteristics: military successes and reverses. No unanimity of mind concerning rupture with England. Division soon apparent and effected: Tories and Patriots. Lack of colonial economic organization.

Harsh treatment of Tories (later on in the Revolution). Confiscation of property, fines, heavy taxation, imprisonment, disenfranchisement. Violence often used against them. Banishment and exile. Personal insults common.

Symbols, etc.: flags: coiled-snake flag, the thirteen stripe flag, liberty-tree flag, the stars and stripes. Catchwords: Yankee, Red Coat, Whig, Liberty Boy, Tory, Patriot. Secret societies fashionable.

Opposition: before the final rupture in 1776 the British colonial government was opposed by the Continental Congress. After the rupture the moderates had to figure with the "Leftists."

FRANCE

Futile attempts on part of moderates to come to an agreement with the radicals (Mirabeau's attempt at compromise; efforts of Girondins to save the King).
 Superficial co-operation between moderates and radicals breaks. Dissent grows; power continues to move farther to the Left. (Danton, Robespierre, Brissot, Hebert, Marat.)
 Conditioning of the public mind: National Legislature mobbed by the Paris Commune; invasion of the Tuileries resulting in the imprisonment of the King; the September massacres; the treason of Dumouriez. Execution of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.
 Radical *coup d'état*: purge of the Girondins, June 2, 1793.
 Radicals in power.

Third Phase: Radicals Take Over

Fitness of the extremists: uniquely adapted to the situation. Strong central control concentrated in a minority group (Jacobins). Administrative and executive ability. Extremists mostly Jacobins versed in Jacobin parliamentary procedure.

Personnel: minority group (Jacobins); mostly bourgeoisie.

Methods: intimidation, propaganda, terrorism (Fouché), ruthlessness. "Strong-arm" technique. Control of press. Street-fighting; political pressure, electioneering. No appeal to the people.
Characteristics of radical régime: Idealism. Stress on Virtue. Jacobins in principle against gambling, sexual irregularities, thievery, drunkenness. Crusade against brothels, gaming houses, vices in general, even laziness.
 Religious element: diabolical mysticism (Robespierre, St. Just, Marat). Messianic fervor. Bringing heaven to earth. The Republic of Virtue. Emphasis on Nature and Reason.
 Revolutionary Faith: Jacobinism. Nature-Reason.

The lunatic fringe: *enrages* (Roux, Varlet). Communistic tone. Hebertists—utopians. Catherine Theot—"Mother of God." Robespierre—the manifestation of God. Festivals of Reason and the Supreme Being. Mass demonstrations.
 Rage for new names. Calendar revolutionized; months named after Nature.

Streets renamed: Place de la Revolution, Rue Marat, Rue de la Nation.

Cities renamed: Marat-sur-Oise (Compiègne), Commune Affranchie (Lyons).

Personal names: Gracchus, Brutus, Marat, etc.

Civil title: Monsieur changed to citoyen.

Government of extremists: government of national defense. Committee of Public Safety established. (Carnot the master mind.) Effective leadership; strict, though not military, discipline.

Confiscation of aristocrat estates. Land divided among peasants.

Persecution of religion. Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Process of dechristianization. Churches desecrated, priests and nuns guillotined or banished. Mock ceremonies instituted. (Desecration of Notre Dame.)

Movement to dictatorship: Robespierre.

The Terror: ferocious and bloody—the guillotine. Of brief duration. Mass executions (Lyons).

Fourth Phase: Thermidor

Date of reaction definite: Robespierre's fall, July 27, 1794.

Public opinion against continuance of the Terror.

New government set up: the Directory. Rise of a great leader: Napoleon.

Moral letdown. Restraint of the Terror thrown off. Orgy of pleasure. Public prostitution. Teresa de Cabarrus—"Our Lady of Thermidor." Rise of a new class of profiteers. Graft, speculation, corruption in politics.

Gradual amnesty. Formal amnesty bills issued (Girondins, Feuillants, *émigrés*).

Reverse persecution of revolutionists. The White Terrors. Robespierre the grand "goat."

In the end: temporary restoration of the Bourbons.

ENGLAND

Changes made in the ministry (Falkland, Hyde, Earls of Essex and Warwick) in the hope of reconciling the extremists. Plan fails.

Surface co-operation of radicals only a temporary pretense. Division on religious issues: Presbyterians desire a state church and a King; Independents favor "toleration" without a King. Power gradually shifts to the Independents. (Cromwell.)

Shift of popular sentiment to radicalism. Steady rise of radical leaders, Cromwell, Monk, Ireton, to power. Success of Cromwell's Model Army paves the way for radical supremacy.

Execution of Charles I.

Coup d'état: Pride's Purge. Rump Parliament established.

Fitness of extremists: far better equipped to handle the crisis than were the moderates. Centralized command: Cromwell and the Independents. Situation more complicated. The Army early entered politics. Practice in government derived through army committees.

Personnel: comparatively few in number. Calvinistic Independents. Middle class in control.

Methods: force, violence when necessary. Censorship of the press. Puritanism enforced by the government. Electioneering, lobbying. No appeal to the people. "Liberty of the Saints."

Characteristics: The idealistic, mystic touch. English revolution a "Puritan" revolution. Puritans against all kinds of vices, gambling, incontinence, even amusements—dancing, theatre.

Religious element: "destiny of the Saints." Ardent proselytism. Heaven to be enjoyed on earth. Rule of the Saints to be realized very shortly.

Revolutionary Faith: Calvinism. The Calvinistic conception of God.

Extreme idealism.

The Diggers—quasi-communistic.

Fifth Monarchy Men—exponents of the reign of the Saints.

Renaming tendency concerned mainly with personal names. No revolutionary calendar evolved. Bible and evangelical virtues the chief source.

Personal names: Praise God Barebones.

Government of extremists: government of national defense not necessary—Civil War already won. Governmental fabric simple. Military power delegated to a committee headed by Cromwell. Singleness of purpose. Strict military discipline.

Estates of Parliamentary opponents confiscated. All Royalist property taxed.

Religious persecution of Catholics and Protestants alike. Intolerance. Church property desecrated and destroyed.

Tendency to dictatorship: Cromwell.

The Terror: bloody and cruel. Atrocious methods. Deliberate massacres (conquest of Ireland). Not so violent as in France but lasted longer.

Rumblings of reaction during the Protectorate.

New government: the Commonwealth, with Cromwell as Lord Protector. Stuarts restored in 1660—end of the revolution.

Moral reaction to severities of Puritan rule. Emphasis on sense pleasure. Gambling, drunkenness, prostitution, licentiousness. Nell Gwyn. Scandal and corruption in Parliament.

Slow return of Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Royalists to politics.

Revolutionaries made the scape-goats. Cromwell's body later exhumed and hanged. The Clarendon Code. After the Commonwealth: the restoration of the Stuarts.

RUSSIA

Successive coalition governments organized in an endeavor to satisfy the demands of the radicals. They failed.

Not even a pretense at co-operation on the part of the radicals. Continual opposition. Radicals keep gaining strength and support.

Military disasters, proletarian desire for greater social and economic reform, the numerous anti-ministry groups within the country prepare the way for further revolution. Execution of Nicholas II and the royal family.

Radical *coup d'état*: November Revolution of 1917.

Fitness of extremists: Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky superior to moderates such as Kerensky, Lvov, Miliukoff. Administrative experience common to the majority of Russian radicals: activities of the local soviets offered splendid opportunities.

Personnel: a strong central command (Bolsheviks) with the mass of people behind them.

Methods: high-powered "muscle-man" technique. Opposition quickly and effectively silenced. Bolsheviks show little respect for wishes of the people.

Characteristics of radical régime: "Asceticism." Contempt of comfort. Emphasis on simplicity. Measures against gambling, prostitution, vice; yet freedom of divorce and sex relationships under the contention that women should be "free."

Religious element: Marx's *Das Kapital*—the Bolshevik Bible. Apostles of world revolution. Classless society—the Russian heaven. Apotheosis of Lenin.

Revolutionary Faith: Marxism; dialectical materialism.

Bolsheviks too busy fighting the Whites to indulge in fanaticism.

Renaming: concerned mostly with personal names.

Cities renamed: Stalingrad (Tsaritsyn), Leningrad.

Civil revolutionary title: comrade.

Government of extremists: government of national defense. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee (Vtsik) invested with legislative and administrative authority.

Confiscation of the estates of nobles. Factories of bourgeoisie requisitioned. Nationalization of land and industries.

Persecution of religion. Violent hostility to Christianity. Religion the "opium of the people." *Atheism*. Churches desecrated, convents closed. Anti-religious propaganda and education. "League of the Militant Godless."

Dictatorship: Lenin and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Terror: ferocious and brief. Mass executions. Firing squad. Circumstances parallel to those in France.

Fourth Phase: Thermidor

New Economic Policy of 1921 the beginning of the reaction proper.

New form of government: R.S.F.S.R. organized in 1918. The U.S.S.R. established in 1923. Lenin the great leader.

Moral letdown: bourgeois vices. Divorce made easy. Comfort seeking. Prostitution public and common. Jazz introduced. Fashion shows. Cosmetics.

Amnesty: the doctrinally unorthodox and aristocrats if they submit.

Trotsky the classic scapegoat for the Bolsheviks.

Stalin still in power.

AMERICA

Unsuccessful efforts of Continental Congress moderates to arrive at a working solution with radicals (Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry).

Opposition not co-operation. Power moves to the Left rapidly.

Incompetence of Continental Congress in the management of the war. Lack of decisive, planned action; disorder in quartermaster's department; lack of funds and supplies. No royal executions.

Coup d'état: Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

Fitness of extremists: superiority of Washington, Jefferson, Adams and others in dealing with the problems of the Revolution.

Experience in self-government secured through colonial legislatures, local caucuses, town meetings, representative congresses and committees.

Personnel: a determined "pressure group" supported by the solid body of Patriots.

Methods: not as extreme. Tarring and feathering common. Terroristic methods used when necessary. Uprisings of Loyalists sternly suppressed. Popular appeal to the people.

Characteristics: Hints of revolutionary idealism: "the simple language of free governments."

Fairs, horse-racing, gambling, drunkenness discountenanced. Amusements discouraged.

No revolutionary faith established.

Traces of idealism but not fanaticism.

Streets renamed: Federal Street (King Street), State Street (Queen Street).

Popular titles: Patriot, Minutemen.

Government of extremists: government of national defense. Continental Congress. Board of War. Various committees entrusted with duty of carrying on the war and providing necessary legislation.

Tory property confiscated to meet war expenses.

No such open hostility to Christianity. Religious factor not prominent in the Revolution. Destruction of a number of Protestant churches to meet pressing army needs.

Washington, powers of a generalissimo; these were not permanent however. Never any desire for political dictatorship.

Crisis period never actually reached. Terroristic elements were mild but efficient. Sons of Liberty. Tar-and-feathering. Execution of Royalists infrequent. Bloodless reprisals for the most part.

Due to the absence of a formal Terror the consequent reaction is wanting.

Gradual transition to a republican form of government. Second Continental Congress. Articles of Confederation adopted as a plan of union. Washington the great personality of the period. Scramble for wealth and pleasure. War tension eases, discipline relaxes. Restless youth; disrespect for authority. Increase in crime. Extravagance; frivolity. Financial speculation.

No need for a "goat."

Republican form of democracy still functioning.

Medieval Universities

(Continued from page thirty)

one could deny the revealed dogma of the Trinity. But in public disputation the fullest freedom was granted to examine the grounds upon which that was held. It might be an interesting question to examine the amount of academic freedom possessed by an American professor as contrasted with his medieval predecessor. Here would be a test. An American university professor is perfectly free to preach almost any doctrine connected with faith and morals; he may argue in favor of free love, demonstrate the worthlessness of religion, deny the immortality of the soul, advocate the abolition of conventional morality and nothing will happen to him. Let him get up in his professorial chair and advocate communism, or at time of war advocate pacifism, laugh at the heroism of his country's soldiers and see what will happen to him. I leave this to the investigators of the American Association of University Professors. The medieval professor was not free to advocate falsehood, but he was free to investigate it. He was free to search for truth as far as he wished—and some of them went rather far. In a very real sense the medieval university was a self-governing institution. There were no wealthy board of trustees to consider, no state legislatures. And if the state or prince interfered, the university corporation had a potent weapon to hand—they could migrate to another municipality. And they made use of that right in the beginning not infrequently. And the finest chapter in the history of papal diplomacy is the story of its dealings with the universities. The Holy See gave them all the possible freedom that the age could wish and through this means kept alive the continuous tradition of learning.

Contribution of Medieval University

The great contribution of the university period to our civilization is that Greek thought and Greek science were recaptured for the western world. The Renaissance thought that their age was the first to come in contact with the Greek mind. That, of course, is an absurdity. The medieval mind was interested in the thought content of the classics; the Renaissance mainly in the form. The medieval man was not content with Greek thought as it was; after all the historical fact of the Incarnation had changed the world and they fused Christian thought with Greek philosophy in an admirable synthesis, an inheritance that the modern world is slowly beginning to rediscover. The medieval thinker was not one-sided; the Renaissance man was. The Renaissance was content with rediscovery of the past. The medieval schoolman eagerly sought the treasures of the past but he transformed them in the alembic of his mind and made them usable in the world in which he lived. The Renaissance scholar often enough rejected authority of the Church, authority of his immediate predecessors, authority of the schoolmen which he viewed with undisguised contempt, but at the same time substituted the authority of pagan classics for the authority of Gospel and Church and theologian. The medieval schoolman accepted authority but he subjected all to the fierce heat of the crucible of reason. Listen to St. Thomas,

the greatest of the masters at the medieval university. Nothing, he says, may be asserted as true that is opposed to the truth of faith, to revealed dogma. But neither is it permissible to take whatever we hold as true and present it as an article of faith. For the truth of our faith becomes a matter of ridicule among the infidels, if any Catholic, not gifted with the necessary scientific learning, presents as a dogma what scientific examination shows to be false.

The contribution then of the medieval university to our culture and civilization consists precisely in this that they gave us the very name university as "an association of masters and scholars leading the common life of learning." They created the idea of a *respublica litteraria* where reason was sanctified and canonized. The glory of the medieval university was the consecration of learning and the glory and the vision have not yet perished from the earth. They made the name of scholar respectable and provided Church and State with its administrators. These were not warriors, not politicians, but educated men, men who had been trained in the discipline of the mind, had learned to set a right value on things of the mind.

Failures of Mexico

(Continued from page thirty-three)

cere platitudes about wishing for opposition in the famous Creelman interview were seized upon by all who desired a change. And these were many! All the "outs" were famished for political plums. Fishers for plunder and place were longing for the good old days when one could count on a revolution every few years. There were no troubled waters in Porfirian Mexico. By 1911 the aged Díaz was driven into exile. In spite of his numerous achievements Porfirio Díaz had failed. He failed on the one hand to prepare his country for democratic government, and on the other he had failed to establish a non-democratic constitution which would ensure his country some measure of stability.

The man who found himself the symbol of anti-Díaz grievances was an honest, good-hearted gentleman, Francisco Madero. Madero was popular as few *Men of Mexico* have been. For a short time the hysterical plaudits of the crowd which saw in him a personification of everything they wanted, lifted the La Laguna dreamer to the clouds. In the first free election Mexico had enjoyed for years Madero was swept into the presidency by a landslide. Democracy had entered Chapultepec. It seems odd that Dr. Wagner does not include Madero among his *Men of Mexico* for the story of his rise and fall is the key to much that has happened since. That Madero was a sincere little man makes his failure the more poignant. He, unlike many who canonize his memory, really believed in democracy. But it is sad that the leading proponent of democracy at this critical time should have been poor silly Madero, feverishly fingering his planchette as he sought to supplement his very small store of common sense and political sagacity with messages from the spirits. Such a man could not rule Mexico. The number of the disillusioned multiplied, and all those to whom Madero had made promises which he could not fulfill grew

bitter toward "the redeemer of Mexico." The ship of state was breasting heavy seas, and the hand on the helm was nerveless. Pascual Orozco's rebellion was but a prelude to the inevitable and Orozco's conqueror, General Huerta, forced Madero to resign. A few days later the *ley fuga* took another victim. Francisco Madero was shot.

The failure of Madero to establish a democratic government was the third great failure of the *Men of Mexico*. It may well be that Mexicans are utterly incapable of using the privilege of a democratic government, but it is a pity all the same that Madero was not strong enough to give them a chance. It was the last opportunity. After Madero fell, the only choice was between tyranny with order (Huerta) or tyranny with chaos (Carranza, Villa, Zapata). President Wilson threw American influence on to the scales to tip the balance to chaos. Mexicans will not thank us for the years of agony which ensued.

In his sketch of Huerta, Dr. Magner gives us a darker picture of Henry Lane Wilson, the American Ambassador, at the time of the Huerta coup d'état and indeed of Victoriano Huerta himself than does Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy.² Mrs. O'Shaughnessy was very likely to have correct information regarding the dramatic events of this period for she was not only on the spot during much of it, but was personally acquainted with most of the leading actors. Her husband served on Mr. Wilson's staff and was later American chargé d'affaires. It is very likely that Huerta could have given Mexico a carbon copy of the Díaz regime if it had not been for Woodrow Wilson's interference. It is hardly likely that the dour Indian could have done more.

The strong man who finally emerged from the welter of chaos which followed the downfall of Huerta was neither "First Chief" Carranza nor Alvaro Obregon who ousted him, but Plutarco Elías Calles who ruled Mexico from 1924 to 1935. This man more closely resembled Hitler of Stalin than Díaz. Having failed to secure either a conservative authoritarian government or a democratic republic, Mexico seemed doomed to fall into the hands of totalitarians. Though Calles was overthrown by Cárdenas, his totalitarian policy lived on. The three great failures of Iturbide, Díaz, and Madero have led to the ultimate degradation—the totalitarian state.

The Epilogue to *Men of Mexico* is the most hopeful part of the book. For signs are not lacking that in today's Mexico there is a trend away from fascism. Whether this trend will continue and what form it will take are questions to be answered in the next few years.

Documents on Usury

(Continued from page twenty-eight)

held in these cases, is clearly known from the gospel of St. Luke in which it is said: "Make a loan, hoping for nothing from it (6, 35), and since every form of usury and excess is forbidden by law, men of that kind must be judged to have acted evilly on account of their intention of making profit, and in the judgment of souls

they must be efficaciously induced to make restitution of what they have thus acquired.

V *Gregory IX (1227-1241)*.

Naviganti vel eunti ad nundianas certam mutans pecuniae quantitatem, eo quod suscipit in se periculum, recepturus aliquid ultra sortem, usurarius (non?) est censendus. Ille quoque qui dat X solidos, ut alio tempore totidem sibi grani, vini et olei mensurae reddantur: quae licet tunc plus valeant, utrum plus vel minus solutionis tempore fuerint valiturae, verisimiliter dubitatur: non debet ex hoc usurarius reputari. Ratione hujus dubii etiam excusatur, qui pannos, granum, vinum, oleum vel alias merces vendit, ut amplius, quam tunc valeant, in certo termino recipiat pro eisdem, si tamen ea tempore contractus non fuerat venditurus.

Ex ep. ad fratrem R., in fragm. Decr. n. 69, temp. incert.—D.B.U. p. 199.

One who, on account of the risk he took, is to receive back more than he gave in a loan to a person about to make a sea voyage, or to one setting out for a fair is (not?) to be considered a usurer. Likewise he who hands over ten *solidi* for which so many measures of grain, wine and oil are to be returned to him at a future time, is not to be considered a usurer for such conduct, even though the goods may be worth more at the time of the transfer of the money, provided there is real doubt as to whether they will be worth more or less at the time of delivery.

On account of such a doubt he also is excused from usury who sells cloth, grain, wine, oil or other merchandise in such wise that he may receive for them at a future time more than they are now worth, provided that at the time the contract was made, he had not intended to sell them.

VI *Clemens V (1305-1314)*.

Si quis in illum errorem inciderit ut pertinaciter affirmare praesumat, exercere usuras non esse peccatum decernimus eum velut hereticum puniendum. (Constit: Ex gravi ad nos).—D.B.U. p. 208.

If any one shall fall into the error of presuming to affirm stubbornly that the taking of usury is not a sin, we decree that he shall be punished as a heretic.

VII *Callistus III (1455-58)*.

Regimini universalis:—Nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod licet a tanto tempore, ejus contrarii memoria non exsistit, in diversis Alemanniae partibus, pro communi hominum utilitate, inter habitatores et incolas partium earumden talis inoleverit hactenusque observata fuerit . . . consuetudo, quod ipsi habitatores et incolae, sive illi ex eis, quibus id pro suis statu et indemnitatibus expedire visum fuerit, super eorum bonis, domibus, agris, praediis, possessionibus, et hereditatibus annuos marcarum, florenorum, seu grossorum monetarum, in partibus illis currentis, redditus seu census vendentes, pro singulis et marcis, florenis sive grossis hujusmodi ab eis, qui illas vel illos, sive redditus sive census ipsos emerint, certum competens pretium in numerata pecunia secundum temporis qualitatem, prout ipsi vendentes et ementes in contractibus super his inter se firmaverunt, et recipere soliti fuere, illa ex domibus, terris, agris, praediis, possessionibus et hereditatibus praedictis, qui in hujusmodi contractibus expressi fuerunt, praedictorum solutione reddituum et censuum efficaciter obli-

² Edith O'Shaughnessy, *Intimate Pages of Mexican History*, New York, Doran, 1920. pp. 172-205.

gantes, in illorum vendentium favorem, hoc adjecto, quod ipsi pro rata, qua hujusmodi per eos receptam dictis ementibus restituerent in toto vel in parte pecuniam, a solutione redituum seu censuum hujusmodi restitutam pecuniam contingentium liberi forent penitus et immunes, sed iidem ementes, etiam si bona domus, terrae, agri, possessiones et hereditates hujusmodi processu temporis ad omnimodae destructionis sive desolationis reducerentur opprobrium, pecuniam ipsam etiam agendo repetere non valerent, apud aliquos tamen haesitationis versatur scrupulus, an hujusmodi contractus liciti sint censendi. Unde nonnulli illos usurarios fore praetendentes, occasionem quaerunt reditus et census hujusmodi ab eis debitos non solvendi. . . . Nos igitur. . . . ad omne super his ambiguitatis tollendum dubium, praefatos contractus licitos iurique conformes et vendentes eosdem ad ipsorum solutionem censuum et redituum juxta dictorum contractuum tenores, remoto contradictionis obstaculo, efficaciter teneri, auctoritate apostolica praesentium serie declaramus. (May 6, 1455). —D.B.U. p. 249.

A petition recently laid before us contained the following: For so long a time that there is no memory of the contrary, the following custom has been, and is today, observed in different sections of Germany among the inhabitants and dwellers of those sections for the common utility of men. These inhabitants and dwellers, or those among them to whom the practice seemed to be a good method of providing for their condition and indemnities, sell upon the basis of their goods, houses, fields, meadows, possessions and inheritances annual incomes or *census* of marcs, florins, grosse—money that was current in those territories. For each marc, florin, gross they customarily received from the men who had bought the income or *census* a certain proportionate price in coin according to the quality of the time, as the buyers and sellers agreed in the contracts about these matters. They put up as security for the payment of the aforesaid incomes and *census* those items of their houses, lands, fields, meadows, possessions and inheritances aforesaid which were named in the contract. There was a further provision in favor of the sellers that they, in the proportion in which they restored to the said purchasers in whole or in part the money received by the contracts, would be altogether free and immune from payment of the incomes or *census* due for the money that had been restored. But according to this provision the purchasers were not to be able to seek repayment of their money, not even by court action, even though the goods, houses, lands, fields, possessions and inheritances should in the course of time be totally destroyed or be rendered totally unproductive. In spite of the custom, there is in the minds of some a scrupulous hesitation whether such contracts are to be considered licit. Hence some, pretending that those contracts would be usurious, seek an occasion of not paying the incomes and *census* of this nature, which they owe. . . . Therefore . . . to remove all doubts about these matters we seriously declare by the apostolic authority of these letters that the aforesaid contracts are licit and conformed to right, that the sellers are efficaciously bound to the payment of the incomes and *census* according to the terms of the aforesaid contracts, since the

contradictory opinion, which was an obstacle to this, has been rejected.

VIII Leo X (1513-1521), 28 April 1515.

Inter multiplices nostrae sollicitudinis curas, illam imprimis suscipere pro nostro pastoralis officio debemus, ut quae salubria et laudabilia, ac Catholicae fidei consona et bonis moribus conformia, nostro tempore non solum enucleentur, verum etiam ad posteros propagentur: et quae materiam scandali praebere possent, penitus succidantur et radicitus extirpentur, nec pullulare usquam sinantur; ea in agro Dominico et vinea Domini Sabaoth dumtaxat conseri permittendo, quibus fidelium mentes pasci spiritaliter possint, eradicatis zizaniis, et oleastri sterilitate successa. Sane cum olim inter nonnullos dilectos filios S. Theologiae Magistros, ac Juris utriusque Doctores, controversiam quamdam, non sine populorum scandalo et murmuratione exortam, et nuper his diebus innovatam esse comperimus, circa pauperum relevationem, in mutuis eis publica auctoritate faciendis, qui Montes Pietatis vulgo appellantur, quique in multis Italiae civitatibus ad subveniendum per hujusmodi mutuum pauperum inopiae, ne usurarum voragine deglutiantur, a civitatum Magistratibus, et aliis Christi fidelibus sunt instituti, atque a sanctis viris, divini verbi praeconibus et laudati et persuasi, ac a nonnullis etiam Summis Pontificibus praedecessoribus nostris probati et confirmati; sintne praefati Montes a Christiano dogmate dissonantes, vel non, utraque parte diversimode sentiente atque praedicante: nonnullis etiam Magistris et Doctoribus dicentibus, eos Montes non esse licitos, in quibus aliquid ultra sortem pro libra, decurso certo tempore, per ministros hujus Montis ab ipsis pauperibus, quibus mutuum datur, exigitur, et propterea ab usurarum crimine injustitiae, seu aliqua certe specie mali, mundos non evadere: cum Dominus Noster, Luca Evangelista attestante, aperto nos praecepto obstrinxerit, ne ex dato mutuo quidquam ultra sortem sperare debeamus. Ea enim propria est usurarum interpretatio, quando videlicet ex usu rei, quae non germinat, nullo labore, nullo sumptu, nullo periculo, lucrum foetusque conquiri studetur. Addebant etiam iidem Magistri et Doctores, in his Montibus neque commutativae neque distributivae justitiae fieri satis, cum tamen justitiae terminos contractus hujusmodi excedere non debeant, si debeant approbari: idque praeterea probare nitebantur, quia impensae pro hujusmodi Montium conservatione, a pluribus (ut aiunt) debitae, a solis pauperibus, quibus mutuum datur, extorqueantur; pluraque; interdum ultra necessarias et moderatas impensas, non absque specie mali ac incentivo delinquendi, quibusdam aliis personis (ut inferre videntur) exhibeantur. Aliis vero pluribus Magistris et Doctoribus contra asserentibus, et in multis Italiae Gymnasiis verbo et scripto conclamantibus, pro tanto bono, tamque Reip. pernecessario, modo ratione mutui nihil petatur neque speretur; pro indemnitate tamen eorumdem Montium, impensarum videlicet ministrorum eorumden, ac rerum omnium ad illorum necessariam conservationem pertinentium, absque Montium hujusmodi lucro, idque moderatum et necessarium, ab his, qui ex hujusmodi mutuo commodum suscipiunt, licite ultra sortem exigi et capi posse nonnihil licere: cum

regula Juris habeat, quod qui commodum sentit, onus quoque sentire debeat, praesertim si accedat Apostolica auctoritas. Quam quidem sententiam a fel. record. Paulo II Sixto IV Innocentio VIII Alexandro VI et Julio II Romanis Pontificibus praedecessoribus nostris probatam, a sanctis quoque ac Deo devotis, et in magna ob sanctitatis opinionem existimatione habitis Evangelicae veritatis praedicatoribus praedicatam esse ostendunt. Nos super hoc, prout nobis est ex alto concessum, opportune providere volentes, alterius quidem partis justitiae zelum, ne vorago aperiretur usurarum, alterius pietatis et veritatis amorem, ut pauperibus subveniretur, utriusque vero partis studium commendantes: cum haec ad pacem et tranquillitatem totius Reip. Christianae spectare videantur, sacro approbante Concilio, declaramus et definimus, Montes Pietatis antedictos, per Republicas institutos, et auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae hactenus probatos et confirmatos, in quibus pro eorum impensis et indemnitate aliquid moderatum ad solas ministrorum impensas, et aliarum rerum ad illorum conservationem, ut praefertur, pertinentium, pro eorum dumtaxat indemnitate, ultra sortem, absque lucro eorumdem Montium recipitur, neque speciem mali praeferre, nec peccandi incentivum praestare, neque ullo pacto improbari; quinimmo meritorium esse ac laudari et probari debere tale mutuum, et minime usararium putari, licereque illorum pietatem et misericordiam populis praedicare, etiam cum Indulgentiis a sancta Sede Apostolica eam ob causam concessis: ac deinceps alios etiam similes Montes cum Apostolica Sedis approbatione erigi posse. Multo tamen perfectius, multoque sanctius fore, si omnino tales Montes gratuiti constituerentur; hoc est, si illos erigentes, aliquos census assignarent, quibus, si non omnino, saltem vel media ex parte hujusmodi Montium ministrorum solvantur impensae, ut ad leviores aeris solvendi portionem medio hoc pauperes gravari contingat. Ad quos, cum hujusmodi census assignatione, pro impensarum supportatione erigendos, Christi fideles majoribus Indulgentiis invitandos esse decernimus. Omnes autem Religiosos et Ecclesiasticos ac saeculares personas, qui contra praesentis declarationis et sanctionis formam de cetero praedicare seu disputare verbo vel scriptis ausi fuerint, excommunicationis latae sententiae poenam, privilegio quocumque non obstante, incurrere volumus: Non obstantibus praemissis, ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae declarationis, definitionis, decreti et excommunicationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Data Romae in publica sessione in Lateran. sacrosancta Basilica solemniter celebrata, Anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo quingentesimo quintodecimo, 4 Nonas Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.—p. 811 sqq De Justitia et Jure Lessius, S.J. 5th ed. Antwerp, 1621 Balt. Moretus. Cf. D.B.U. p. 256.

Leo, Bishop, servant of the servants of God.

For a perpetual memory of the deed, with the approval of the sacred council.

Among the many matters of which we have charge,

we ought to take up in the first place, in virtue of our pastoral office, that one from the settlement of which those truths and conduct which are healthful and praiseworthy and conformed to the Catholic faith and in accord with good morals, not only may be succinctly stated in our time, but indeed may be made known to generations to come; and from the settlement of which every factor that could give occasion for scandal may be altogether cut down and destroyed in the root, and never again allowed to grow. After the cockle has been rooted up and the sterile wild-olive has been cut down, we ought to allow only those plants to be sown in the Lord's field and in the vineyard of the Lord of the sabbath by which the minds of the faithful can be spiritually nourished. And indeed we ought to do this since we know that sometime ago a certain controversy had arisen among some of our beloved sons, masters of Sacred Theology and doctors of both civil and ecclesiastical law, not without scandal and complaint among the people, and has recently in these days been reopened—the controversy with regard to the relief of the poor by loan-funds which were to be established for them by public authority. Montes Pietatis such institutions are called by the people. They have been established by magistrates of cities and by others of Christ's faithful in many cities of Italy to relieve by such loans the needy poor, lest these be devoured in the maelstrom of usury. They have been praised and their establishment has been urged by saintly men, preachers, and they have even been approved and confirmed by some of the pontiffs, our predecessors.

The controverted point is whether the said institutions, the montes, are incompatible with Christian dogma or not. The two parties hold and preach contradictory answers. For, some masters and doctors say that those montes are not licit in which a return beyond the amount of the loan *pro libra*, after the lapse of a definite period of time, is demanded through the clerks of the mons from those poor persons to whom the loan was made; and that, therefore, these montes do not escape the charge of usury, i.e., of injustice, or at least of some form of evil. For Our Lord, as St. Luke testifies, bound us with a clear precept not to expect the return of anything beyond the amount loaned. Such is the proper meaning of usury, i.e., to strive to acquire without doing any work, without making any expense, without taking any risk, profit and increase from the use of a thing which is not productive. The same masters and doctors added that in these montes neither commutative nor distributive justice is sufficiently observed, although contracts of that kind ought not to go beyond the bounds of justice if they are to be approved. And furthermore, they attempted to prove their assertion from the fact that the expenses of the conservation of the institutions, which ought to be borne by the many—as they claim—are extorted from those poor persons alone, to whom the loans are made; and from the fact that sometimes, in addition to the necessary and moderate costs, many other expenses are added on, not without the appearance of evil and an incentive to wrong-doing, for the benefit of certain other people (as these masters seem to infer).

Many other doctors and masters teach the contrary

opinion; they proclaim it in word and writing in many of the schools of Italy. They say that in the case of so great a good, one so necessary for the public weal, provided no profit is sought or hoped for by reason of the loan itself, to indemnify the montes, i.e., for the salaries of the clerks and for all expenses pertaining to the necessary conservation of them, there being no profit in this for the montes, there may licitly be demanded and accepted from those who benefit from a loan of this kind a moderate and necessary return beyond the amount of the loan. For one of the rules of law says:—he who receives the benefit ought to bear the annexed burden, especially in a case that has the approval of the Apostolic See. And they show that this opinion indeed was approved by our predecessors of happy memory, the pontiffs Paul II, Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, Alexander VI and Julius II, and was preached by the heralds of the Gospel, holy men, devoted to God, and held in great esteem on account of their reputation for sanctity.

We, who are desirous of giving an opportune solution of this matter, as we have been commissioned to do by heaven, praise the zeal of the one party for justice, that the devouring mouth of usury be not opened; we praise the love of the others for truth and piety, their desire to help the poor; we praise the zeal of both. And since this matter seems to pertain to the peace and tranquility of all Christendom, we declare and define, with the approval of the Sacred Council, that the aforesaid montes, instituted throughout the nations, and to this day approved and confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See, institutions in which for their expenses and indemnity, solely for the costs of the clerks and other things pertaining to the conservation of the montes, *ut praeferatur*, for the indemnity of them alone, a moderate amount beyond the loan is received, without any profit on the part of the montes,—we declare and define that such montes have not the appearance of evil, do not offer an incentive to sin, are not in any way to be condemned, but rather that such a type of loan is meritorious and ought to be praised and approved, and is not at all to be considered usurious; and that it is licit to preach them to the people as a work of goodness and mercy, together with the indulgences granted by the holy Apostolic See for such a work, and finally that other like montes can be established with the approval of the Holy See.

It would be much more perfect, much more holy if such montes were made altogether gratuitous, i.e., if the organizers would assign to them some annual revenues from which, if not the whole cost of the clerical work of such montes could be paid, at least a half could, so that by this means the poor would be burdened to pay only a lighter part of the debt. We decree that the faithful are to be led by the grant of greater indulgences to establish such montes with an assigned revenue to take care of the expenses.

It is our will that all religious and ecclesiastical and lay persons who in the future dare to dispute orally or in writing, or to preach against the tenor of this present declaration and sanction shall incur the penalty of excommunication, *latae sententiae*, any and every privilege notwithstanding, and notwithstanding premises,

apostolic constitutions and ordinations or any contrary act. No one at all may infringe this page of our declaration, definition, decree, excommunication, or rashly dare to go contrary to it. If any shall presume to attempt such a thing, let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God, and of his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul.

Rome, in solemn and public session, in the most holy Lateran Basilica, 1515, April 28, the third year of our pontificate.

IX Pius V, 1566-72.

In Eam Pro Nostro; Jan. 28, 1571. Primum (igitur) damnamus ea omnia cambia quae ficta (al. sicca) nominantur et ita confinguntur, ut contrahentes ad certas nundinas seu ad alia loca cambia celebrare simulent, ad quae loca ii, qui pecuniam recipiunt, litteras quidam suas cambii tradunt, sed non mittuntur, vel ita mittuntur ut transacto tempore, unde processerant, inanes referantur, aut etiam nullis hujusmodi litteris traditis, pecunia ibi denique cum interesse reposeitur, ubi contractus fuerat celebratus; nam interdantes et recipientes usque a principio, ita convenerat, vel certe talis intentio erat, neque quisquam est, qui in nundinis, aut locis supradictis, hujusmodi litteris acceptis solutionem faciat. Cui malo simile etiam illud est cum pecuniae, sive depositi sive alio nomine ficti cambii traduntur, ut postea eodem in loco vel alibi cum lucro restituantur.

Sed et in ipsis cambiis, quae realia appellantur, interdum, ut ad nos perfertur, campsores praestitutum solutionis terminum lucro ex tacita vel expressa conventionione recepto seu tantummodo promisso, differunt. Quae omnia nos usuraria esse declaramus. et, ne fiant, districtius prohibemus.—D.B.U. p. 336.

First of all therefore, we condemn all those (cambia,) Letters of credit which are called fictitious (or "dry"). They are arranged in this way. The parties to the contract pretend to give letters of credit to certain market-fairs or to other places. Those who receive the money, hand over their letter of credit directed to these places, but they are not sent thither, or they are so dispatched that after the lapse of time they are referred back to the place whence they had proceeded, as not called for. Or without the delivery of any letter of credit, the money with interest is demanded back at the town where the contract was signed. For such was the agreement between the lenders and borrowers from the beginning; at least such was certainly their intention; nor is there anyone who would make the payment at the market-fair or in the above mentioned places, after letters of that character had been received. Similar to that evil is another practice; money is transferred, whether it be by a contract of deposit or by some other type of fictitious exchange, to be returned later with a profit either in the same or in some other place.

But even in the case of an actual cambium, which are called "real" the *campsores* sometimes, so we are told, set back the appointed day of payment, having been given a profit either by explicit or tacit agreement, or having only been promised a profit. We declare that all these practices are usurious and strictly forbid them.

(To be continued in next issue)

Recent Books in Review

An Appraisal of the Protocols of Sion, by John S. Curtis. Columbia University Press. 1942. pp. vii + 118. \$1.00

An Appraisal of the Protocols of Sion is a well written, well arranged, thorough and complete book. It should be of interest to the historian from the standpoint of method and style as well as from the standpoint of content matter. The book treats of the authenticity of the "Protocols of Sion." The Protocols were credited with being a secret plan of Jewish world dominion. They are well classed by Professors Willigan and O'Connor of St. John's University with the bogus Knights of Columbus oath.

Professor Curtis presents all the evidence in the case. From a study of their contents, the testimony of their original sponsors, and from the evidence presented at the Bern trial, the Protocols are seen to be a forgery plagiarized from a political pamphlet of one Maurice Joly. Pere Charles, S.J., who has also written a study of the Protocols, calls them an "evident forgery, the work of an ignorant and clumsy policeman." Indeed the work is traced back to the responsibility of a Russian secret police agent Rachkovskii. Rachkovskii's work was something of a success; for as the Protocols were "composed with the aim of rendering Jews odious by exciting against them the unreflecting blind passions of the mob" (quoting Pere Charles)—they have been effective in the insidious cause of anti-semitism.

Professor Curtis might well have mentioned the notorious "Ritual Murder" libel which was, as it were, the predecessor of the false Protocols. The latter being better fashioned to our times has misled even somewhat responsible persons. Modern historians will, I am sure, find *An Appraisal of the Protocols of Sion* an interesting and valuable book. ROBERT LIPPERT.

Grant of Appomattox, by William E. Brooks. Indianapolis. Bobbs-Merrill. 1942. pp. 347. \$3.00

In many respects Ulysses S. Grant was not a great man. Yet he did one thing that was truly great—he saved the Union. Men have called him a drunkard; scandal-mongers have blackened his presidential career. But no one has been able to tarnish the glory that was Appomattox. For on that day peace, not justice conquered. Above Grant's tomb in Riverside Park, New York, are inscribed the words: "Let Us Have Peace." Those words are the index to his character. In private and in public life he was first and always a man of peace. And for Grant, the soldier, war meant only one thing—a means to peace. It is a lesson that the world has yet to learn.

Dr. Brooks writes with understanding and conviction. He is evidently a Grant enthusiast, but the enthusiasm is calm and restrained and in no way deters from the excellence of his work. As a biography, the book is not complete; the story reaches its height at Appomattox and ends there. The incompleteness was, however, intentional. The author's purpose was not to give a detailed account of Grant's life. Rather it was to tell anew a story of definite significance for America today, the story of a man who, faced with a crisis, met it and won.

E. H. KORTH.

The Pageant of the Popes, by John Farrow. New York. Sheed & Ward. 1942. pp. viii + 420. \$3.50

An excellent book and well written. These two phrases may suggest the value of John Farrow's *Pageant of the Popes*. To condense the history of twenty centuries of the papal succession into one volume of slightly more than moderate size is a task; but to do it in such a way as to focus on the major points of the successive reigns of the popes in a highly enlightening and interesting manner is a further complete and onerous task. John Farrow has done both. The deftness and skill with which he has sketched the links in that endless chain, begun with Peter and coming down through the ages, are qualities to make a really good book. The Pope who offered the first Midnight Mass, the Pope who extended the practice of the Stations of the Cross, the Pope who climbed the scaffold to argue with Michelangelo will be remembered more clearly, will be appreciated more exactly as the reader makes his way through *Pageant of the Popes*. In addition, the fourteen illustrations of famous popes by Charlot emphasize the word-sketches already penned by Farrow, in a way that will aid a reader in retaining them in his memory.

In compiling this book, the author has given a synopsis of the scholarship of Pastor and Mann and others in modern form

with accuracy and interesting delineation to his purpose, which, though not stated, is obviously to present a twentieth-century view of the story of the popes. Some may not agree that this kind of a work does full justice to such a subject because it stresses only high points and striking details, but it is certain that, along broad general lines, a better result could scarcely have been attained. The good,—the bad; the mediocre in the successors to the throne of Peter are not emphasized. As they were, so are they treated by the author, a member of the English fighting forces who finished his work recuperating in a hospital in Curacao.

The only drawback to this volume lies in the fact that from beginning to end there is no break. Each new pope takes his place with capital letters but the text is unbroken. Although carrying out the idea of the title, there is considerable difficulty in finding a familiar figure about whom the reader might like to read again. Psychologically also it is a forbidding and wearying sight to see page after page without an interruption. There is, to be sure, a series of successive centuries heading the pages, but only a historian thoroughly acquainted with the whole field would be able to find an object of his search by this method.

J. J. CAMPBELL.

How War Came, by Forrest Davis and Ernest K. Lindley. New York. Simon and Schuster. 1942. pp. viii + 342. \$2.50.

Considered in the light of the authors' intention, this popular account of the antecedents to Pearl Harbor is well done. Embracing the period that begins with the fall of France, the narrative unfolds rapidly and interestingly, and becomes an effective apologia for the foreign policies which the United States has followed since the beginning of the war. Such an apologia gains point in view of Kurusu's recent imputation of guilt to this country for the war.

While much of the detail was already recorded in the daily press, this book's particular claim to merit is in the many personal glimpses of the men who have been involved. They are seen against the background of such significant events as the destroyer-bases agreement, the Hull-Nomura conversations, and the creation of the Atlantic Charter. Highlight of the story is the President's consistent optimism and faith in the ability of the United Nations to defend their cause successfully. We can only add that events have proved that optimism to be well-founded.

WILLIAM J. KOCH.

Annals of the New York Stage, Vol. XIII: 1885-1888.

By George C. D. Odell. Columbia University. 1942. pp. xviii + 723. \$8.75.

If the preceding volumes, which we have not seen, are equal to this one, a much needed work is in superb progress. It can be discussed in superlatives only. One could hardly conceive of a better account of three crowded years in one of the world's most important dramatic capitals before the celluloid invasion.

Though necessarily chronicle, it is anything but dull reading. It must, however, have been wearisome labor, as the humorous groans of the scholarly author at times attest. The style is easy and informal, enlivened by frequent witticisms. The dramatic criticism is authoritative and discriminating, the report of an eye-witness, for Mr. Odell was a student at Columbia during the years of which he writes. What luck!

If the readable style and abundant portraits make the book a delight to the casual reader, the wealth of detail and the comprehensive scope of it, together with the excellent index, will make it a treasure house for the research student. That so much material necessary for a first rate history of the American theater has been permitted to perish is deplorable. Arthur Hornblow's pleasant volume and Arthur H. Quinn's authoritative two-volume work suffer from a shortage of available data. For that reason, the *Annals* is a most consoling work.

Some of the great figures preserved in these pages are Ada Rehan (the greatest, in Mr. Odell's opinion), John Drew, Otis Skinner, Forbes-Robinson, De Wolf Hopper, Mary Anderson, Modjeska, Maurice Barrymore, Weber and Fields, Lillian Russell, Fanny Davenport, Julia Marlowe, E. H. Sothern, Ellen Terry, Henry Irving, Sarah Bernhardt, Mrs. Langtry, Richard Mansfield, and the lesser figures—mere names—are legion. The 45 pages of photographs are calculated to give our grandsires

a bad attack of nostalgia for the glory that was Broadway and the grandeur that was the Metropolitan, though the author by no means restricts his report to Broadway. He ranges through Brooklyn, Williamsburgh, Queens County and even Staten Island, neglecting no house of any significance nor any variety of drama. The labor involved is nothing less than heroic but the achievement is worth the cost. We shall await the next volume as patiently as we can.

LOUIS F. DOYLE.

Turkey, by Barbara Ward. London. Oxford University Press. 1942. pp. 121 + Index. 2/6 net.

Miss Ward, one of the assistant editors of *The Economist*, has spent some time in Turkey and has attempted in this short book to present the history, politics and economics of a country, the neutrality and important strategic position of which have caused a considerable amount of speculation by columnists and commentators since the present conflict began in September, 1939. Most, if not all, of the commentators could well afford to suspend operations for an evening and devote themselves to a study of this book before deciding to fling the Turks into Armageddon on one side or the other.

Is Turkey by the very nature of its political structure more likely to be sympathetic to the Axis? It is a country of one party with an oriental heritage of dictatorship, it is true, but Miss Ward paradoxically remarks that it is a community in which the citizens are being forced to be free. It is her contention that the law still prevails, albeit a law that is far removed from the law of the old Turkey, and that all men are equal before it. It is a country where propaganda works day and night for the ideals of the late Kemal Atatürk, for a state that is "republican, nationalist, populist, étatist, lay, and revolutionary," but it has no Gestapo and no concentration camps. It can take no stand in the present conflict because, while friendly to Russia, it fears a revival of the Czarist dream of control of the Bosphorus; it equally distrusts a powerful Germany that would permanently dominate the Balkans and reduce Turkey to dependent status. A great show of strength by the western powers in the eastern Mediterranean would undoubtedly put a different complexion on things—Miss Ward even goes so far as to say that Turkey would welcome a revival of British strength in that part of the world. Over and above her distrust of Russia and Germany there is the matter of Turkish industrial and military weakness. A country with two or three small arms plants, one airplane factory, and a fleet that, apart from one or two modern destroyers, was built before 1914, is in no position to ride gallantly forth to tilt a lance in battles such as those now raging in Russia and North Africa. Prudence dictates that Turkey preserve her neutrality if she possibly can.

Miss Ward's book is not all about war and diplomacy. She discusses the Turkish social revolution, the predominantly rural and communal economy of the country, its trade, industry and finances. In the future she sees it as the leader of a federation that would include the Balkan states, "enjoying the economic assistance and military partnership of the western world." In this she has possibly failed to give due weight to the history of the Balkans for the last hundred years or more.

There are several illustrations and two useful maps. The book should prove of great use to high school and college debating societies and international relations clubs.

HERBERT H. COULSON.

Tiberius and the Roman Empire, by Charles Edward Smith. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1942. pp. v + 281. \$3.00

The evidence for reconstructing the events of Tiberius' reign and of Roman affairs in the early first century is voluminous and detailed, but particularly difficult to evaluate. Tacitus' account in the *Annals* is the major source, but it can be checked and supplemented in a fascinating manner by information from many other quarters: Suetonius, Dio Cassius, Juvenal, and the discoveries in archaeology, numismatics, and allied fields. The unusual intricacy of events and the nature of our sources of information have prompted very numerous studies of the period in its various aspects and as a whole. All this evidence Professor Smith here reviews and works into a very capable general presentation of the personal, military, social, constitutional, administrative, and economic factors of Tiberius' reign. He has used his authorities with a fine critical sense, and shows real competence in integrating his exhaustive research on primary and secondary sources into a well-knit survey of the entire

problem. His statement of the facts is concise and clear, and thoroughly documented. The closely-reasoned interpretation of the facts which he unobtrusively presents in his account of events and their human context is never over-subtle or gratuitous, and will commend itself by its objectivity, insight, and maturity of formulation. The whole fascinating picture is set in a clear, impartial light: the intrigues surrounding Tiberius' accession and imperial tenure, the intricate politics and machinations connected with the careers of Agrippina, Piso, and Sejanus, military conditions springing from the mutiny of the legions in 14 and from Germanicus' campaigns in Germany and the East, prosecutions for treason, the Emperor's relations with the Senate and his retirement to Capri, the administration of Italy and the provinces, and social-economic conditions of the Empire. All is given a lucid and satisfactory presentation in a smoothly running style.

The Emperor's financial ability, skilful administration, and humane principles are shown to prove that Tacitus' disparagement of Tiberius' personality and rule is largely unfair, to be explained by his prejudice to the imperial system and his tendency to assert without proof inner motivation and hidden thoughts. One could wish that Tacitus' personal sufferings under the imperial regime, which, along with his lofty political ideals, explain this unsympathetic attitude, were taken into account in criticizing the ancient historian, whose graphic power and inimitable style make his narrative, though biased, so impressive and alive. As a critical re-statement of Tiberius' reign, or as guide and supplement to the *Annals*, Professor Smith's book, with its fine bibliography, source-references, and index, may be recommended as a notably useful and able study.

RAYMOND V. SCHODER.

Latin America and the Enlightenment, edited by Arthur P. Whitaker. New York. D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. pp. xiii + 130. \$1.25

This newest volume of the Appleton-Century Historical Essays is, indeed, a timely addition to a helpful series. In passing it might be worth remarking that teachers who are not acquainted with this series would find it helpful to look for an introduction. The little volumes to date have been composed of scattered short studies by leading historians, which have appeared in various periodicals, as for example Bolton's *Wider Horizons of American History*, or, as in the case of the present volume, made up of significant papers read at conventions or roundtables. In this way some excellent historical writing is made easily available to teacher and student alike.

Four of the essays contained in this work formed the basis for the discussion in one of the sessions of the American Historical Association at New York in December 1940; two others have been added to complete the picture. Each essay is the work of a man well qualified to treat his subject, and, while no one or all of them give the final word on the matter, together they afford an interesting sidelight on Latin America. They confine themselves, in general, to tracing the advent of the ideas of the Enlightenment to Latin America and of the reception accorded these ideas. It is not generally recognized to what an extent these ideas did filter into the New World, and in acquainting us with this little known aspect the authors have rendered a real service. We can only hope that one or other of them will push researches still farther and trace the vital influence which these ideas had in the wider culture pattern. A careful study of this sort will give us many a valuable key to that understanding of Latin neighbors which all of us so earnestly desire. This volume, however, will afford a good start.

JOHN F. BANNON

Social Wellsprings. Volume II. Eighteen Encyclicals on Social Reconstruction by Pius XI. Annotated and arranged by Joseph Husslein, S.J. Milwaukee. The Bruce Publishing Company. pp. 430. \$4.00

Shortly after Father Husslein had edited the fourteen epochal Encyclicals of Leo XIII under the title *Social Wellsprings*, the request came to do a similar piece of work with the social Encyclicals of Pius XI. Now that the task is done the Editor of the Culture and Science Series places these two precious volumes "at the service of all men of good will." General interest in and the study of social problems have greatly increased during the past ten years. The disturbing and annoying problems in particular that followed upon the crash of 1929

compelled nations and their governments to more consideration of labor and the common man. Floods of social legislation were passed in order to meet the needs and the demands of impoverished people. Sometimes legislation becomes a necessity. In fact it is often the sole means of meeting a nation-wide problem. Yet all the while one knows that the closer the State can keep to its true function of 'watching, guiding, urging, curbing' the more surely it is fulfilling its purpose and avoiding transgressions into the sanctuary of the home and the family. One adjustment calls for another and the return to normal is always difficult of accomplishment.

Long before it would listen, Leo XIII warned the modern world of impending social disasters. At the same time the great Pontiff pointed to the factors leading to the breakup of our social order. He lashed out fearlessly against the liberalism and laissez-faire philosophy of government. He warned men of the threats to the family and the home. He pleaded for a return to the order established by almighty God for His world. Leo's was like a voice over the wilderness. Came the 1930's and the fulfillment of what might be called a prophecy. As keenly aware of the chaos as his predecessor, Leo XIII, Pius XI campaigned with all the power of his pen to awaken men to their obligations toward one another and toward the society in which they lived. The eighteen Encyclicals on social reconstruction of Pius XI are eloquent evidence of the efforts of the great pope and a witness of his zeal to establish the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ. Pius reaffirms and rounds out the work begun by Leo. By arranging and annotating the social Encyclicals of these two far-sighted Christian leaders Father Husslein has made easily accessible to all the certain principles and foundations of a social order after the heart of Christ and the plan of the Creator. Upon other foundations we shall build in vain.

A. H. SCHELLER.

A Survey of European Civilization, Volume II (1500 to the present), by Louis L. Snyder. Harrisburg, Pa. Stackpole. 1942. pp. xxi + 684. \$3.00

This book is a complement of *A Survey of European Civilization, Volume I* by the same author. The two volumes form an introductory text and make no pretense of being a comprehensive, final, and complete study of the period.

The division of the matter according to its economic, political, cultural and social significance, while preserving chronology, is a helpful expedient. Though the treatment of the matter is on the whole fair, yet it seems slightly off color when dealing with the Reformation in England. For example, the author attributes the flight of Mary, Queen of Scots, into England to her romantic episodes, and then says, "To Elizabeth she was a most unwelcome guest," when, as a matter of fact, Mary fled to England because the political and religious revolution which Knox instituted in Scotland with the aid of troops of Queen Elizabeth had driven her from her own land.

The length of the work makes it a manageable text, and the collateral reading of the energetic student is taken care of by a long list of suggested readings for each section. The main claim to superiority which this work has over the numerous historical surveys which are flooding the market today is its introductory and summary paragraphs for each period which help to unify the contents.

E. J. KURTH.

From Barter to Slavery: The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580, by Alexander Marchant. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. pp. 160. \$1.50

The regrettable paucity of studies in English on the early history of Brazil makes this present monograph most welcome, even quite apart from the scholarly nature of its content. This is not a full history of Brazil for the period indicated, though a great many interesting sidelights on that history do break through the more specialized discussion of relations with the Indian as an economic factor in the building of the colony.

It is sometimes erroneously imagined, principally for lack of solid information, that the Portuguese relationship with the Indians of Brazil very closely paralleled that of Spanish relationship in the Hispanic colonies. The author has set forth plentiful evidence to rectify such an opinion. In all events, no matter what later policies came to be, in the early years the Portuguese built their relationship with the natives on a system of barter (food and labor exchanged for Portuguese goods) which left the friendly Indians much greater freedom than that

enjoyed by their counterparts in the Spanish dominions. The barter system was not always successful—toward the end of the first century of Portuguese occupation it was fast breaking down—but, by and large, it did work for a number of years with tolerable efficiency. The government and the Jesuits favored and fostered the system; the settlers were not always so enthusiastic in their support, particularly those in the northern half of the colony where the plantation type of economy was introduced and found profitable. The role of the Indian, as laborer, as food-grower, as military ally, looms large in the Brazilian story. This role Mr. Marchant has carefully traced. We can hope for more Brazilian studies from this author.

JOHN F. BANNON.

Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis, by David M. Potter. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1942. pp. x + 408. \$3.75

This volume treats of the six months of political, party, and sectional activity preceding the outbreak of the Civil War with the fall of Fort Sumter in 1861. The purpose of the author is to examine the part played by the unwitting Republican party in precipitating the actual conflict when it came. Lincoln and his party in the days following the November election of 1860 exhibited a fatal and tragic misconception of the actual state of affairs in the nation; they failed to understand the mind and heart of the South; they overestimated the strength of the Southern Unionist movement, while at the same time underestimating the fanaticism and zeal of the "fire-eaters" of the South, those partisans who refused concessions from the Northern moderates and demanded secession and independence absolutely. Lincoln, as well as his astute and enigmatic Secretary of State, Seward, entered upon a policy that was neither in favor of war to preserve the Union, nor in favor of concessions for the South. This policy of concession depended on two elements: first, the willingness of the Republicans to grant concessions to the South; second, the willingness of the Southerners to accept concession. As regards the former, Lincoln himself was instrumental in defeating the Crittenden Compromise, a plan for a peaceful and conciliatory way of preserving the Union. Concerning the latter element, it is doubtful whether the South would even have accepted compromise. However, the fact that Lincoln refused compromise does not signify that he rejected peace, nor on the other hand is it a mark that Lincoln necessarily chose war. There was a third possibility—peaceful reconstruction of the Union by voluntary action of the Southern States. The Republicans during the Winter of 1860-1861 scoffed at the threat that the Southern States would secede. Later, when the threat became an actuality, they somewhat modified their stand, remaining convinced, however, that the majority of Southerners were Unionists at heart, and that they were but sentimentally and temporarily overcome by the influence of the "fire-eaters" within their own ranks. They were convinced that, if a bloody conflict could be delayed for several months, the South of her own accord would come back to the Union. Because of this conviction that the Southern Unionists would finally prevail within their home states, the Republicans in Washington refused to consider the claims of the South, refused to act on such matters as territorial expansion for slavery, and adopted a policy of "masterly inactivity," striving to maintain the prestige of the government both in the North and in the South. Hopefully, but with the misconception of the actual situation, the President and his party awaited the reaction in favor of the Union to set in among the "Americans at heart" of the South. The reaction never crystallized.

The subject of this book is one that does not find frequent mention nor adequate treatment in the various histories of this period. Professor David Potter, however, has treated a difficult subject capably, thus giving an intensive and extensive study of the viewpoint, intentions, and activities of Lincoln and the Republican leaders in the crisis preceding the Civil War. The book contains a fine bibliographical note and a sufficiently adequate index.

ROBERT W. LAMBECK.

Francis of Assisi, by Ray C. Petry. Durham. Duke University Press. 1941. pp. ix + 199. \$3.00

Dr. Petry's *Francis of Assisi* is not an inspired study. He has not written the life of the saint with a view to stimulating the reader's enthusiasm; his own feelings are studiously kept from entering into the discussion. The book is rather a careful and scholarly study of St. Francis in order to clarify the picture of the man and the ideal of poverty that he put into such striking practice.

Dr. Petry is to be congratulated on the admirable manner in which he conducted his carefully documented study. Although he is not a Catholic, the author has portrayed the place of the Franciscan ideal in Catholic tradition with a most commendable understanding. A Catholic writer might be proud to have his name given to such a book.

On one point, however, Dr. Petry's insight fails him. Yet he is not to be blamed because he bogs down when confronted with the difficult phenomenon of the "extravagances" of a saint. Admittedly, all the actions of a saint cannot find a satisfactory explanation, but one must always remember that one is dealing with an individual who is filled with the intense conviction that the wisdom of man is foolishness in the eyes of God.

On page 164, the author remarks: "With all of his charm and usefulness, Francis, must, nonetheless be appreciated as a man of passionate impulses, sustained, often illogical conclusions, and simple, unsophisticated mentality. The same ideal which gave him charm and magnetism also filled him with fanciful notions and fatuous obsessions. The "notions" and "obsessions" may at times have been foolish, yet one must not forget, in interpreting these actions, what Arnold Lunn puts so well in his "Saint in the Slave Trade": "A saint is a friend of God . . . he is more than a friend; he is a lover in the heroic sense, a lover ever eager to prove his love by the extravagance of his gifts." And again: "The very extravagances of the saints are necessary to startle us out of our complacent self-satisfaction. Indeed, their extravagant preoccupation with the next world may be necessary to compensate for our no less exaggerated preoccupation with this world."

R. J. IMBS.

The Judgment of the Nations, by Christopher Dawson.
New York. Sheed and Ward. 1942. pp. viii + 222.
\$2.50.

The historical philosopher is always working in a difficult field, but with certain subjects in his field there is even greater difficulty. The topic of Christopher Dawson, *The Judgment of the Nations*, is such a subject—how the civilized world got into its present condition and how to alleviate that condition. The state of the world is, of course, known to most thinking people, but it is doubtful whether they would attribute its nadir point to the lack of Christian unity in the way the English historical philosopher has done. The great catastrophes have come about and the breaks have been made through an over-emphasis or an under-emphasis of points in Church dogma, doctrine, practice, etc. on which the Church Herself always held a middle path. Frequently too, points ascribed to differences on religious grounds were in reality political or social strifes masked in religious garb or dress. By returning to the unity of Christianity, the world's civilization can be saved. "Religion is the only power that can meet the forces of destruction on equal terms and save mankind from its spiritual enemies." Frequent allusion is made to the Sword of the Spirit, the present-day movement set up to work for this end in a particular and concentrated manner.

This volume would be excellent for a college library and for any thinking person who desires an explanation of how we got into our present position and a Catholic way out. Perhaps some may not agree with Mr. Dawson's conclusions, but they must admit that his evidence is very satisfying and his analysis penetrating. *The Judgment of the Nations* in part follows the lines of Pius XII in his encyclical on war, developing many of the thoughts therein contained. It is another contribution of Christopher Dawson in the best sense to a Catholic outlook on present-day problems and the solution after the war.

J. J. CAMPBELL.

Development of the Labor Movement in Great Britain, France and Germany, by W. A. McConagha. University of North Carolina. 1943. pp. ix + 199. \$2.50.

The layman interested in the employer-employee problem or the student beginning his study of labor theory will find Mr. McConagha's book very helpful and interesting, because both appreciate the efficacy of historical background. The author confesses that he had made no attempt at a comprehensive and exhaustive investigation of the European labor movement, but he has abstracted data which indicate trends in the European labor movements, and which adequately inform one who is not in search of a thorough treatment.

Most studies of movements of this nature are loaded down with statistical data which become laborious. McConagha has avoided this extreme; rather he has employed an essential

minimum of mathematical detail. Those statistics used are presented gracefully and are no burden to the reader. The impression left by these data is not, however, always meticulously correct. Certainly this is the case with respect to the movement in Germany.

While the membership in the socialist-Free Unions may have been as high as reported, and the Christian unions relatively small with a membership only one-ninth that of the former, yet McConagha failed to note that in some parts of Germany where the population is overwhelmingly Catholic no effort was made to form a Christian union when a Free Union was already existing, because the principles of Catholic social policy could be achieved through their majority membership regardless of what they were nominally. The inference that there were four and one-half million members sympathetic with a socialistic union is false.

The more revolutionary character of the French labor movement is fairly portrayed. The treatment of the British labor movement is more lengthy, yet this is warranted. As Mr. McConagha indicates, it was in Britain that the European labor movement was given its impetus. Its history is one of vacillation between the radical and the conservative sympathies within the ranks of labor, and the tremendous task of obtaining a legal status, that is, a governmental approbation for laboring men to unite.

This history is told interestingly, concisely, and clearly. He who reads it will obtain a good panoramic view of European labor's Odyssey though he will want to check the objectivity of an occasional landmark.

RICHARD RYAN.

Epitome of Western Civilization, by John F. Bannon, S.J. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1942. pp. 292. \$2.25

The *Epitome of Western Civilization* is not intended to replace texts in use in college survey courses. "It is rather a short digest of class lectures" with which the author introduces his students to the subject matter. Sketchy though it may be the book bears the imprint of sound scholarship and reveals the art of the real teacher. Beneath a style obviously used to arouse popular interest there is a penetrating analysis of past centuries and a remarkable unity in this summary presentation of the development of Western civilization. This unity, moreover, is achieved without losing sight of significant developments along the way. *The Epitome of Western Civilization* tells a vibrant story that could only come from the pen of one who has a sympathetic understanding of past endeavors and the genius to make that past live again for twentieth century students.

Clear, succinct explanations of terms as well as of facts are found in every chapter. Or again only a hint is let fall—enough to send the student seeking further information or another interpretation. In a work such as this there must necessarily be statements that require elucidation, statements that at first reading may possibly convey an incorrect idea. The book was written primarily to offset the usual misinterpretations found in survey texts. That done the author makes use of the best of those texts to supplement his own notes. Readings in three standard survey texts are indicated at the end of every chapter. More detailed period studies are also suggested. Apart from this the author supplies no additional bibliography. The review topics which appear at the end of each chapter "are useful for guiding the student's reading and preparing him for frequent quiz-periods." Is this, perhaps, making the work too easy?

One might object to the hurried reference to the Hebrews on page 9, to the too detailed enumeration of early heresies in chapter 8. Some reference to the Roman languages might be included in the chapter on Medieval Learning and any discussion of the England of the Normans and the Angevins should emphasize the development of typical English institutions such as the Curia Regis and the itinerant justices. The chapter on the Stuarts is disappointing because the author holds to the traditional view that all the mistakes were made by the monarchy. The statement on page 131, "Europe had become 'modern,' interested only in living down her medieval reputation," flatters the moderns by crediting them with a clearly defined objective.

Students will appreciate the *Epitome of Western Civilization*. That another instructor could use these lecture notes as effectively as the author may be seriously doubted, but all should find them stimulating and some, perhaps, may learn with profit that it is possible to make the dead bones of history live.

K. C.